



APPENDIX

TO THE

LONDON MAGAZINE.

MDCCXL.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 581.

In the Debate begun in our last, the next that spoke was T. Quintius, the Purport of whose Speech was thus:

My Lords,

COULD any Opposition to a Measure, absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the Constitution, have surprized me, I should have been amazed at the Reception given to the Bill now under our Consideration.

The Commons, sensible of the Prevalence of Corruption, and well knowing the inevitable Destruction attendant upon any Government infected with that political Contagion, have sent your Lordships a Bill for securing their own Integrity, and to prevent the dreadful Effects, an Evil so subtle and formidable might soon occasion, if not entirely eradicated.

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Nor is the Bill founded upon *Utopian* and chimerical Schemes of publick Virtue; but so extremely requisite, that you have already in the Statute Books two Laws calculated to obtain the same End: Notwithstanding which, it is still possible for Ministerial Craft, working upon abandoned Prostitution, to evade and render them ineffectual.

If you believe the Commons really intended, by their passing this Bill, to support their own Honour, and to preserve their own House uncontaminated by secret Corruption, may they not with Reason resent your defeating so upright a Design? May not it occasion a Breach of that Harmony, which we ought to endeavour to promote between the two great legislative Branches? And will not the whole Nation espouse their Cause, and warmly join in their honest Indignation?

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On the other hand, were it possible to suppose, they meant nothing by this Bill, but to delude their Constituents, by an Appearance of Zeal against that malignant Influence, which may make those that were chosen as the Guardians, become the Subverters of the Liberty of their Country, would it be consistent with your Dignity, with your Duty to God and Man, to be accessory to the abominable Craft? No, my Lords, this House can never sink so infamously low, as to co-operate in so mean, so contemptible, so profligate a Jobb: You may be yourselves deceived, but you are incapable of deceiving.

A private Pension is a Breach of Trust; and if you refuse your Assent to this Bill, you in some Measure give a Sanction to the Infringement of those Laws it is intended to enforce.

The noble Lord's Argument drawn from the four Journals, he ordered to be read, concludes nothing, but that it was, at those Times, the Sense of the House to reject Bills of the same Nature. But, my Lords, there are many Lords now present, who did not sit in this House at any one of the Periods refer'd to; and the Commons, after having been four Times defeated, offering this Bill to your Lordships, is a Proof of their Opinion of the absolute Necessity of such a Law.

It was observed by the noble Lord, that the Time is improper: Far otherwise is my Opinion; for at an Hour when the Situation of Affairs obliges the Parliament to impose heavy Burdens upon a Nation, already labouring under the severe Pressure of an enormous Debt, are we not directed by Justice and Prudence to give them the utmost Proofs in our Power, of the Integrity of those Persons, by whom the oppressive Taxes must necessarily be impos'd. The noble Lord hath said, pass-

ing this Bill would be a Slur upon the Commons. Surely it cannot be esteemed in that Light, as they begin it themselves; for if by the Bill's passing their own Assembly, the Slur be not cast, the enacting so upright a Bill, cannot reasonably be judged so. A Parliament in the 2d of Henry VIIIth pass'd an Act to annihilate all the Debts the King had contracted upon Loans. The Reason given by Historians is, that it was filled by his Majesty's Servants, with whom Justice had not so much Weight, as Complaisance to the Crown.

The Numbers of Placemen in that Parliament are not specified; but, I believe, they did not amount to near three hundred in both Houses, nor is there Mention made of a single Pensioner. The Parliament stigmatized by the Name of pensioned Parliament, proposed an expurgatory Oath, to clear themselves from that Aspersion, containing many Particulars, one of which was, That each Member should swear, he had never given his Vote in Parliament, for any Reward or Promise whatsoever. I sincerely wish that, to gratify the People, the same, or such another Oath, should now be taken; and as the Oath proposed by this Bill will, I think, be rather more effectual, therefore I am for the Bill's being committed, and hope it will be passed into a Law.

The next Speech I shall give you upon this Question, was that made by M. Horatius Barbatus, which was to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

UNFIT as I am to offer my Thoughts to your Lordships, I shall undertake the Task with Pleasure, whenever my Duty calls me to it. I was in Hopes, however, that I should have had no Occasion

casion of troubling your Lordships to Day: I was in Hopes, that this Bill, calculated for the Independency of Parliament, after having received the unanimous Sanction of the House of Commons, would not have met with an harder Fate within these Walls. I must confess, I am in the greatest Difficulty, my Lords, how to reconcile the Opposition it finds, with the warm Zeal for the Freedom of Parliament, and the tender Regard to the Constitution of it, which your Lordships have shewn upon so many other Occasions. I am still more at a Loss, my Lords, when I consider the Weakness of Argument, and Shadow of Reason, upon which such an Opposition is founded.

Every Friend to the Revolution must be zealous for fully obtaining those noble Ends proposed by it; but this, my Lords, can never be, till the Independency of Parliament is secured. To gain this essential Point must be the Wish of every honest Heart; and tho' many Difficulties may occur, before the great Scheme be complete, yet every Step we take against the undue Influence of Power, still farther removes from us that fatal Danger, by which this Country may one Day fall. We have less to fear, my Lords, from a foreign Power abroad, than from a ministerial Power at home. This the House of Commons is sensible of; and fearing they have not sufficient Security for the Independency of their Members, desire your Lordships Concurrence, to strengthen it, and to enforce those Laws, already in Being, against those notable Friends to Liberty, called Pensioners: And shall we, my Lords, frustrate the good Design? Shall we refuse them the Security they ask? and shall not the same Reasons that weighed with our Ancestors to enact Laws, weigh with us for the Enforcement of them? Were they

not, my Lords, I should be apt to believe what I have often with Concern heard, when I was abroad, That the *English* have the best Body of Laws now extant in the World, but want the Execution of them.

A One Objection, my Lords, that has been made to the Bill by the noble Lord who spoke first is, That it would multiply Oaths. If Oaths are ever necessary, it is upon such solemn Occasions as these, when a Man enters upon the great Trust reposed in him by his Constituents. We swear to our King: This is an Oath to our Country. Many Men, my Lords, will break their Words, who dare not violate their Oath; and Fear has often an Effect, when Conscience has none. I can easily believe, my Lords, that there will be many wicked Men in future Times, who wou'd betray their Trust, evade the Acts of Parliament, and receive their Pension, if they cou'd avoid the Penalty due to Perjury.——They wou'd hazard their Expulsion, so they escaped the Pillory.

Another Reason, my Lords, that pleads strongly with me for this Oath of Purgation, is the Difficulty a House of Commons is like to meet with, in the Discovery of their prostituted Members. If a future Minister should follow the generous Example of some of his Predecessors, all Papers, all necessary Informations would be denied, and Corruption be as secret as it is destructive. Is it to be imagined, that a Man vile enough, unlawfully to receive a Pension, would be also weak enough to avow it himself? Knavery and Cunning are too often joined, to expect it. Is it to be supposed, that a corrupting Minister will ever confess, where he unwarrantably extends his Bounty?

It has also been said by the noble Lord, that passing this Bill would prove a Suspicion of the Government.

ment. A free People, my Lords, must always be suspicious; and Liberty must ever be upon its Guard. Many, perhaps, my Lords, think, they have just Grounds for Suspicion, when a Multiplicity of Places, a numerous standing Army, an Increase of Taxes, and an immense Civil List, have, during so many Years of Peace, born hard upon the Subject. As to myself, my Lords, I am disposed to be much more candid in my Opinion; and I wish I could persuade myself, that as such infinite Sums of Money pass thro' other Channels, there was but little left for the worthy Pensioners; but, I fear the Case is different: I fear, my Lords, 'tis too easily to be proved, that if his Majesty's Civil List was exonerated of all unnecessary Pensions, he might afford (as Queen Anne did, out of a much less Civil List) 100,000*l. per Annum*, for the Support of the present War. Thus every loyal Heart, unbrib'd, unpensioned, would be zealous in his Majesty's Service; and his Throne would be strengthened (if possible, more than it is at present) upon that only true Basis of Royal Power, the Affections of his People.

I have ever been, my Lords, and I hope I ever shall be, an Enemy to Corruption; but of all the Variety of Corrupted, surely Pensioners, if there ever are any such in an House of Commons, are the lowest Sect. They have no Title, no Pre- tence, to the Salary they receive. All their Merit is their Vote; and even that is a Disgrace when the Freedom of it is lost. They neither serve their Country, nor truly serve their King. They are the humble Servants to a Minister, whose Orders they obsequiously obey, whatever be his Conduct with regard to his Master's Interest. G Placemen may be honest, but Pensioners in the House of Commons never can. They violate the Laws

of their Country, when they are first hired; and when they enter upon their Pay, they commence Enemies to the Publick. Those who are brib'd, my Lords, are far less guilty than such Pensioners.

A Some Author I've read, makes this Distinction between a Pension and a Bribe: A Bribe, he says, is given for a particular Jobb, a Pension is a constant, continual Bribe. The Jobbers are only a Sort of Day-labourers; but Pensioners are domestick

B Servants, hired to go thro' all the dirty Business of the House. As they receive a Minister's Wages, I wish they had also worn his Liveries; and thus the Discovery of them had been easily made, without perplexing your Lordships with

C this Bill. The *Jews of Rome*, my Lords, because it is apprehended, so great a Number of them may some Time endanger the State, as a Mark of their Religion, are obliged to wear a Piece of yellow Linen upon their Hats. I wish, my Lords,

D we had some such Institution for the unlawful Pensioners; for, as many of the *Jews* chuse rather to quit the City, than bear about this Mark of Infamy, so I flatter myself, we should have got rid of a considerable Number of our Pensioners, as soon as their virtuous Characters were known by their yellow Caps.

E I am sure, my Lords, I need trouble your Lordships no more to prove the dangerous Consequences that may accrue to the Publick, from the Violation of our Laws, F against these Hirelings. Whether this Bill will be effectual, whether it will entirely stop this Channel of Corruption, I'll not pretend to say; but something must be done: Let us not refuse a good Thing, because it is not the best; or be averse to remedying Part of the Evil, because we cannot get rid of the Whole. The Freedom of Parliament has never been lost, or recovered, but by

by Degrees; and, if your Lordships have a Mind to amend and strengthen this Bill, let it be referred to a Committee appointed for that Purpose. Any Thing, my Lords, rather than reject the Bill with Contempt, as if the Independency of A Parliament were a Point not worthy this Assembly's Consideration. My Lords, it is most particularly our Care; and tho' some paltry venal Writers of these Days, have endeavoured to palliate and justify the Guilt of Corruption, nay, even to B prove it necessary for the carrying on of Government, yet, I am persuaded, that Systems so inconsistent with our Constitution, have ever been abhorred by your Lordships.

However publick Virtue hath been derided: However the honest C Support of our Country's Cause has been misconstrued Resentment, Spleen, Malice, and Disaffection, yet Patriotism is a Virtue that, I hope, will always recommend itself to Parliaments, since Parliaments can only subsist by it. To give the World a Proof that such Virtue is still amongst us, let us give our Concurrence to this Bill; and thus shall we put it out of the Power of future Malice to say, that the invidious Task of throwing out this Bill was, with Success, laid upon us, and that E we submitted ourselves to the unpopular Burden, too heavy for the Commons.

The next that spoke was L. Cassius Longinus, whose Speech was in Substance thus:

My Lords,

HOWever unpopular, however invidious it may appear, to oppose this Bill, yet, I think myself in Duty obliged to take the Task upon me; because, I think it a most unnecessary Innovation of our Constitution; and an Innovation that will certainly be of the most fatal Con-

sequence to the Morals of the People. It has often been the Fate of this House, my Lords, to withstand unreasonable Prejudices that have been artfully raised among the People; and the more general or violent such Prejudices may grow, the more zealous ought we to be for preventing the dangerous Effects they may produce, either in the Nation or upon our happy Constitution. For this Reason, so far from yielding to any popular Outcry on account of its being general, I shall always be for examining coolly into its Foundation, and where I can find no solid Foundation, I shall never be for rearing a new Fabrick, or any Addition to the old.

I know, my Lords, a great Outcry has of late been most artfully raised against Corruption; and, I believe, there are many well-meaning Men who think there is some Ground for it; because it is natural for Mankind to indulge their own Vanity and Self-conceit, by imagining that those who differ from them, especially in Politicks, are governed by any other Motive rather than that of Reason; and as Corruption is the most obvious Motive that can be imputed to those that approve of the Measures of a Court, therefore those that disapprove, of course suppose, that most of their Antagonists are influenced by Corruption. But this to me is no Proof, nor so much as a Presumption. It is from Court Measures alone that I am to judge; and F if those Measures have been such as I thought reasonable, I cannot suppose, Charity will not allow me to suppose, that any Gentleman in either House of Parliament was, from corrupt Motives, induced to approve of them.

G This, my Lords, is my Way of judging: I hope it will be allowed to be a reasonable Way of judging; and if it is, I am sure it must be allowed

allowed by a great Majority of this House, that there is at present no solid Ground for the Outcry that has been lately raised against Corruption. I shall agree with the noble Lords who appear so zealous for this Bill, that our Constitution may hereafter, and by some Changes in the Situation of our Affairs, come to be in Danger from Corruption; but, if we were to think of providing against every possible or distant Danger that might be suggested by a gloomy and fertile Imagination, we should never be a Moment at Rest, nor our Constitution a Twelve-month the same. The noble Lord who spoke last has allowed, that the Liberties of a Country were never lost, but by Degrees; therefore he must allow, that our Liberties cannot at once be swallowed up by Corruption. It must come upon us by Degrees; and of all Dangers to which our Constitution can be exposed, that of Corruption must make the most slow and gradual Approaches. We have already many Fences against it, Fences which, in our present Situation, I think insurmountable; but, if I should hereafter find myself mistaken, I shall be as ready as any Lord in this House to add new Fences, and to repair the old, in as strong and effectual a Manner as possible. This we shall have sufficient Time to do, because we cannot but perceive the Approach of so dangerous an Enemy, by the Effect it must have upon one or other House of Parliament; for if we should find the Parliament approving of publick Measures that are in themselves either weak or wicked, we must then suppose, that Corruption has begun to break through our former Fences, and then, indeed, it will be Time to think of providing some new Defence.

The present Bill, therefore, can appear necessary to none but those

who think, that the Parliament has of late approved of some weak or wicked Measures of Government; and as I am far from thinking so, I cannot agree to the committing or passing of this Bill, especially as I am of Opinion, that it would have a most fatal Effect upon the Morals of the People. I believe, it will be allowed, that there is nothing of more dangerous Consequence to the Happiness of Society, than a general Contempt of Perjury among the lower Sort of People; and we know how ready the lower Sort are to follow those Examples that are, or which they suppose to be set them by those of superior Rank. I am far from supposing, that any Gentleman of the other House has a secret Pension from the Crown, and far less shall I suppose, that if any one of them had, he would solemnly declare upon Oath, he had no such Thing; but, my Lords, it is impossible for any Gentleman to guard absolutely against the Reproach of malicious Tongues, or to prevent that Reproach being believed by a great many. There are now, there will always be some Gentlemen in the other House, reproached with having private Pensions from the Crown; and this Reproach will always be believed by many without Doors. If this Bill should pass into a Law, every Gentleman so suspected must swear, that he has no such Pension. Would his Swearing so remove the Reproach? No, my Lords, it would add to it a new Reproach of a much more heinous Nature; for many without Doors would believe, he swore falsely; and many of the meaner Sort, being confirmed in this Belief, would, from the Example supposed to be set them by a Gentleman of such Rank and Figure in his Country, begin to lose that Veneration every Man ought to have for an Oath; by which Means Perjury might at last become contemptible

tible among the Vulgar; and this would of course lay open the Flood-gates of all other Sorts of Wickedness.

From this Consideration, my Lords, if our Liberties were now in Danger from Corruption, if some new Remedy were necessary for putting a Stop to that Evil, I should nevertheless be against this Bill; because the Remedy would bring on a greater Evil than that which it is intended to cure. But as, I think, we are at present, whatever may be pretended, in no more Danger from Pensioners in either House of Parliament, than we are from the *Jews* in the City of *London*, I think it as unnecessary to provide any new Remedy against the former, as it would be to put yellow Caps upon the latter; and I believe, the noble Lord himself does not think it is necessary, or that it would be proper, to put any Mark of Distinction upon the *Jews* that reside in this Kingdom: Nay, I believe, he will grant, that the Danger apprehended at *Rome*, which was the Occasion of putting a Mark of Distinction upon them there, was rather imaginary than real; and that it was suggested by that selfish, narrow, persecuting Spirit, which clapt Tails to the *Hereticks* in *Spain*.

But why, my Lords, should we give so much Attention to this Outcry against Corruption, and yet wholly disregard that Outcry against Resentment, Malice, Envy, Disaffection, and Sedition, which prevails among another Set of People? For as no Man is willing to suppose, that any Difference from his Opinion proceeds from Reason, the Friends of the Administration are as apt to impute the Opposition to these Motives, as the Opposers are apt to impute an Approbation of the Government's Measures to Corruption. For my own Part, I am so charitable as to believe, that both Sides are go-

verned by their Reason; and therefore, if it should be thought necessary to oblige the Members of the other House to swear, they had never given their Vote in Parliament for any Reward or Promise whatsoever, A I should think it necessary, at the same Time, to oblige them to swear, they had never given a Vote in Parliament, out of Resentment, Malice, Envy, Disaffection, or Sedition; for, I think the Man, who is under the Government of either of these, as B far from being a free Agent, as he that is under the Influence of Corruption.

The next that stood up was Sp. Carvilius, whose Speech was in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

W H E N one considers the Nature of this Bill, it is really amazing to find it meet with any Opposition in this House. It is so far from being an Innovation with respect to our Constitution, that it can scarcely be said to be a new Law; because the sole Intention of the Bill is, to amend and enforce Laws that are already in Being, and Laws too which were made to obviate and prevent a Practice that has often been used, and that has always been acknowledged to be of dangerous Consequence to our Constitution. To pretend that we are not at present in any Danger from the private Pensions that may be given to Members of the other House, must appear absurd to every Man, that considers the Nature of Ministers, or the Nature of Mankind. My Lords, it is a Danger we can never be free from, nor can ever sufficiently guard against, as long as it is in the Power of a Minister to give, or of a Member to receive. It is absolutely necessary for a Minister to have the Consent or Approbation of Parliament in almost every Step

Step of his Conduct; therefore, from the very Nature of Ministers we must suppose, that if he cannot obtain such Consent or Approbation by his Authority, he will endeavour to obtain it by his Power; and from the Nature of Mankind we must suppose, that among such a Number of Men as are in the other House, the Minister will always find some of them ready enough to prostitute their Consent or Approbation for a considerable Bribe or annual Pension. Thus we must always be exposed to this Danger, and we are now a great deal more exposed to it than ever we were heretofore; because our Ministers now have infinitely more to give, and Custom or Example has, I'm afraid, greatly added to the Number of those that are ready to receive.

This, my Lords, the Gentlemen of the other House are fully sensible of, and therefore they have endeavoured, by this Bill, to add to the Strength of those Laws, which were made for guarding against a Danger, that has greatly increased since the last of them was enacted. By this Bill there is no Alteration made in our Laws or Constitution: There is no Man excluded from having a Seat in the other House, but those who, while they sit there, are guilty of a continued Breach of the Laws of their Country, and would certainly be not only expelled but prosecuted, if their Crime could be discovered and proved. By the very Act of Settlement itself, my Lords, it was expressly enacted, amongst other Things, That no Person having a Pension from the Crown, should serve as Member of the House of Commons; and tho' this Clause was in general repealed, by an Act of the 4th and 5th of Queen Anne, yet it was then again thought so reasonable to exclude Pensioners from having Seats in the other House, that it was of-new enacted, That no Per-

son having any Pension from the Crown during Pleasure, should be capable of being a Member of any future House of Commons; and by an Act of the first of the late King, this Incapacity was farther extended to all Persons having any Pension from the Crown, for any Term or Number of Years, either in their own Names, or in the Name of any other Person in Trust for them, or for their Benefit. Thus your Lordships see, that by the Laws now in being all Persons who have Pensions from the Crown during Pleasure, or for any Term or Number of Years, are rendered incapable of having Seats in the other House; and by these Laws great Penalties are inflicted upon those, who presume to break through them. But as no Provision has been made by either of these Laws for discovering secret Offenders, and as every Man must be sensible that such Pensions may be given privately, the Gentlemen of the other House have thought it necessary, and, I hope, your Lordships will think it necessary, to provide the best Remedy that can be thought of for this Defect, which is the chief, and indeed the sole Intention of this Bill.

I cannot help, therefore, being astonished at its being pretended, that this Bill will occasion any Alteration or Innovation in our Constitution; and there is nothing convinces me more of the Necessity there is for passing it, than the Circumstances of the noble Lords who, I find, oppose it. To the Honour of the Administration in the first Year of the late King, I must observe, that the Law past at that Time, for excluding Pensioners from the other House, was introduced by a Secretary of State, and approved by most of those in the Administration; and it was prudent and right in them to do so. A Minister that has no Intention to make Use of Bribery

Bribery and Corruption, has no Occasion to oppose any Bill that can be thought of for preventing such infamous and illegal Practices; and therefore, when I find such a Bill opposed by those who are the known Friends of a Minister, it will always be a prevailing Argument with me, not only to think that there is a present and pressing Necessity for such a Bill, but also to think that the Bill proposed will be in some Measure effectual. Whether the Bill now before us will be altogether effectual, is what I shall not pretend to determine; but I am convinced, both from the Nature of it, and from the Opposition it meets with, that it will have some Effect. It will at least raise the Price of Prostitutes, because the more Risk a Man runs, the higher Wages he will of course expect; and the higher you raise the Price of those who are liable to be corrupted, the more difficult will every future Minister find it to corrupt; so that at last you may render the Practice impossible, notwithstanding the many and great Boons our Ministers have now to bestow; and then they must think of gaining the Consent or Approbation of Parliament by their Authority in Persuading, and not by their Power in Corrupting.

But suppose it were your Lordships Opinion, that this Bill would be altogether ineffectual, can this be a Reason for not committing it? If the Intention of the Bill, if the Principle upon which it is founded, be right, the Imperfection of it is no Reason against committing it; because in the Committee you may alter and amend it, so as to remove every Imperfection; therefore, I must think, that the noble Lords who oppose committing it, disapprove of the Principle upon which it is founded, and, indeed, most of their Arguments seem to tend that Way. Such a Bill's having been

rejected by this House in former Sessions, is no Reason for our rejecting it in this. Some of the best Laws that were ever made, have at first met with the unlucky Fate of being rejected. The Triennial Bill was at first rejected by this House, and yet the very next Session it was approved of and passed by this House; and tho' it was at that Time rejected by the Crown, yet in the next following Session, it met with the Approbation of the three several Branches of our Legislature, and was accordingly passed into a Law. That Law, 'tis true, has been since repealed, but, nevertheless, it has always been deemed by a great Majority of the Nation, to be an excellent Law; and many of those who joined in the Repeal of it, I believe, now heartily repent of their having done so. But the very Repeal of that Law is a strong Argument in favour of the Bill now before us; for the longer the Term is, for which the Representatives of the People are chosen, the greater Security ought the People to have, that those Representatives shall not, from any selfish View, betray the Interest of their Country in Parliament.

To pretend, my Lords, that we ought never to think of guarding against Pensioners in the other House, till we find the Majority of that House approving of some weak or wicked Measures of Government, is the very same with saying, that no Man ought to think of repairing his House, till it has tumbled down and overwhelmed him in the Ruins. Will Pensioners ever acknowledge, that they have agreed to any weak or wicked Measure? Will a Pensioner ever agree to give up the only Tenure by which he holds his Pension? And if the Majority of the other House should once come to be pensioned and corrupted, could it be expected, that such a House of Com-

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mons would ever concur in passing any Law against pensioning and corrupting? I can freely declare that, in my Opinion, many Things have of late Years met with the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament, that very little deserved it. I believe there are very few Lords in this House, that will now approve of every Thing that has, for these twenty Years past, been approved of by Parliament; and therefore, if every Lord makes this the Standard for his Opinion of this Bill, I have no great Doubt of its meeting with the Fate it deserves. Whether the undeserved Approbation some late Measures have met with in Parliament, was owing to the Number of Pensioners in the other House, I shall not pretend to determine: I shall not even pretend to affirm, that there are at present any Pensioners in that House; but when we see Members obtaining very great and lucrative Posts for their Brothers, Sons, or distant Relations, it cannot but occasion a Suspicion, that they have a Fellow-feeling in the Salary or Perquisites; and this Suspicion is a good Reason for passing this Bill. But suppose there were no such Suspicion: Suppose we were absolutely certain that there are at present no Pensioners in the House of Commons, there is a Possibility, nay a very great Probability, that there will be such, as soon as we have the Misfortune to fall under the Government of a Prince, or Administration of a Minister, whose Projects or Schemes cannot be supported by Reason; for every one must see, that the Laws in being are not sufficient for guarding against the Mischief.

By the Laws now in being, my Lords, it is made criminal for any Man that accepts of a Pension to keep his Seat in the other House; but those Laws have provided no Method for discovering and proving

that Crime; and as a Pension may be given, as infamous Pensions are generally given, without allowing any Person to be privy to it but the Corruptor and the Corrupted, if you have a Mind to prevent the Practice as far as lies in your Power, you must put it to the Oath of one of the Parties, which is the Design of this Bill. I shall not say, that this Method will be in every Case effectual: I shall admit, that some Pensioners may be abandoned enough to add Perjury to their Treachery, and to declare upon Oath, they have no Pension, in that very Assembly where they earn their infamous Wages, and perhaps in the very Face of him, who pays them. But what is proposed by this Bill is, my Lords, the utmost you can do: It will be a Sort of Test Act upon Pensioners; and surely those who are so solicitous about keeping the Dissenters in subjection to a Test Act, cannot refuse to subject those who are suspected of being Pensioners, to the same Method of Purgation.

The Test Act against the Dissenters, my Lords, was never yet thought sufficient for preventing occasional Conformity; and yet, no true Lover of the Church ever thought it ought, for that Reason, to be repealed. The Test designed by this Bill against Pensioners, may not, perhaps, be sufficient for keeping all of them out of the House of Commons; yet, no true Lover of our Constitution can, for that single Reason, think, it ought not to be imposed. It will have some Effect: I believe it will have a very great Effect; because of the Danger a Man must, in this Case, run, by taking a false Oath. The Revenue of a Gentleman, who is no Trader or Gamester, is generally pretty well known; and his yearly Expence may be pretty nearly guessed at by his Neighbours and Servants. This, upon a strict Enquiry, will always

always afford a strong Presumption against him; and, as the Person that pays him his Pension, may afterwards turn Evidence against him, he can never be absolutely secure against a Conviction, which will, I believe, terrify most Men A from being guilty of the Crime.

I find some Lords are, upon this Occasion, extremely apprehensive of corrupting the Morals of the People, by a Multiplicity of new Oaths: I wish the same Apprehensions had prevailed, when such an B infinite Number of Oaths were contrived, for collecting our Customs and Excises. Most of those Oaths are to be taken by Multitudes of People, and in Cases where there are great Temptations for Perjury: The Oath now proposed, is to be C taken by none but Members of the other House, and the Temptations to Perjury can never be great or frequent, but when our Constitution is in the utmost Danger. It is therefore something strange, that we should be so little apprehensive of D corrupting the Morals of the People by a Multiplicity of Oaths, when we are contriving Methods for preserving the Revenue of our Sovereign, and so very apprehensive of the like Effect, when we are contriving Methods for preserving E the Constitution and Liberties of our Country. A Foreigner, upon considering this Behaviour, would be apt to judge, we had very little Concern about the latter, provided we could but enjoy a Share of the former; and, if we should reject F this Bill, without much better Reasons than I have yet heard against it, I fear, most of our own People will join in forming so false an Opinion of this honourable and august Assembly.

Your Lordships must be all sensible, how prevalent the Jealousy is at present, of there being a great Number of Pensioners in Parlia-

ment: The Gentlemen of the other House have endeavoured to allay that Jealousy, and to vindicate the Honour of their Assembly, by sending us up this Bill. If it should be thrown out here, what will the Nation think? Will it not be generally supposed, that it is in this House where the Number of Pensioners prevails, and that here the Pensions have their most infallible Effect? Or, perhaps it will be supposed, that there are Pensioners in the other House as well as in this, but that the Pensioners in the other, for the Sake of recommending themselves to their Constituents, had Leave from their Masters to agree to this Bill, because those Masters knew, they could depend upon the Number and Submission of their Pensioners in this, for throwing it out. I am very sensible, my Lords, there is no real Ground for either of these Suppositions; but those without Doors, who do not know the Reasons upon which your Lordships proceed, when they find a Bill rejected which makes no Alteration in our Constitution, which does not so much as make an Alteration in any former Law, which contains nothing but an Enforcement of the Laws in being against Pensioners; such Persons, I say, may think, they have Reason to make one or other of these Suppositions; and should not we be extremely cautious of giving the least Shadow of Reason for judging so unworthily of our Assembly?

I do not know, but that some of your Lordships may be of Opinion, that the Laws now in being, for excluding Pensioners from the other House, are inconvenient, and therefore wish they were repealed: If they are so, let them be repealed; for we ought not to sit here, and suffer any Laws to remain in Force, that are inconvenient to the Society. But, if they are not inconvenient:

venient: If they are necessary for guarding our Constitution against Corruption, the most dangerous, because it is the most secret Enemy to a free State, they ought to be enforced, they ought to be rendered effectual, by all the Methods that can by the Wit of Man be invented, or by human Power exercised. In Cases of such a secret Nature we must, we ought to call the divine Power to our Assistance, by interposing the religious Solemnity of an Oath. By interposing an Oath, my Lords, in Matters of great Consequence, and which cannot frequently occur, we shall never render the Solemnity familiar and contemptible; and where is there a Matter of greater Consequence, on this Side the Grave, than the Preservation of the Constitution of our Government, and Liberties of our Country? It is by interposing an Oath in trivial Matters, in such as frequently occur and chiefly affect the meaner Sort, that we render the Solemnity familiar and contemptible to the Vulgar; and, I wish the Invention of some of those who are supposed to be no Friends to this Bill, had, in this Respect, been less fruitful.

My Lords, as the Laws now in being, for excluding Pensioners from the other House, must, to every Man that considers them, appear to be altogether ineffectual, if this Bill be rejected, I shall, even in my Time, if I live but a very few Years, expect to see the other House full of Pensioners. I shall expect to see a Minister in that House, out of a Wantonness of Power, by his sole — No — throw out a Bill of the utmost Importance, without deigning to give his Slaves so much as one Reason for what he obliges them to do. This, indeed, if it should ever happen, I shall look upon as a Sign of his Power, but not of his Prudence; and, I may

prophecy, that if ever a Minister should get such a Power over the other House, his Power in this will be as absolute, and equally insolent.

A Upon this Gentleman's sitting down, C. Cicerejus stood up, and spoke to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

I SHALL always be as ready as any Lord in this House, to enforce the Laws now in being, for excluding Pensioners from having Seats in the House of Commons: I shall readily concur in any Method that may be proposed for that Purpose, provided it be such a one as I think consistent with our Constitution; but when the Method proposed, evidently tends to the Overthrow of that Constitution, which we all shew, and I hope sincerely, so warm a Zeal for preserving, I hope I shall always have Virtue and Resolution enough, to give it my Negative, let the Consequence be what it will. If the Laws now in Force, for terrifying a Pensioner from keeping his Seat in the other House, are not sufficient, I hope some Method will be found out, for rendering them so, without giving such a Power to the other House, as must soon overturn our Constitution, which, I think, would be the certain Effect of the Bill now before us; for it would shew very great Imprudence, as well as great Ignorance of our Constitution, if we should expose ourselves to a new Danger, for the Sake of avoiding a Danger of a different Nature, which we are already pretty well, if not effectually, guarded against.

By the Law of the 4th and 5th of Queen Anne, my Lords, mentioned by the noble Lord who spoke last, it is enacted, That if any Person having a Pension from the Crown during Pleasure, shall sit or

vote

vote in the other House, he shall forfeit 500*l*. to such as shall sue for the same. And by the Act of the 1st of his late Majesty, likewise mentioned by the same noble Lord, it is enacted, That if any Person having a Pension from the Crown, for any Term or Number of Years, either in his own Name, or in the Name of any other Person in Trust for him, or for his Benefit, shall presume to sit or vote in the other House, he shall, in such Case, forfeit 20*l*. for every Day in which he shall so sit or vote there, to him who shall sue for the same.

These Penalties are so high, that in my Opinion, my Lords, no Gentleman of Fortune will run the Risk of incurring them, for the Sake of any Pension the Crown can bestow; and we know, that none but Gentlemen of Fortune can be chosen Members of the other House. For this Reason, notwithstanding the Suspicions that prevail, and are most industriously propagated, without Doors, I cannot think, that there are at present any Pensioners in the other House; and, indeed, from the very Nature of Things, I am convinced of it. No Prince, no Minister, will ever give a Pension, for the Sake of engaging a Man's Vote in Parliament, unless there be an absolute Necessity for so doing; and whilst a Prince, or Minister, desires nothing of Parliament, but what is reasonable, and agreeable to the publick Interest, there can be no such Necessity; for however much some Men may be actuated by Malice or Disaffection, as long as the Administration pursues no Measures, but such as are necessary for securing the Happiness of their Country, I hope they will always find a Majority in both Houses of Parliament, ready to approve of such Measures, without any Pension or Reward. This has, in my Opinion, been the Case, I shall venture to

say, ever since the Accession of our present Royal Family: Our Ministers may, perhaps, have thought of some Measures that were disagreeable; but as soon as they found they were so, they have always given them up: And some Things have, perhaps, afterwards appeared not to have been so right; but at the Time they were resolved on, they appeared otherwise; and our Parliaments will, I hope, be always ready to forgive human Frailty, in all Cases where no Neglect or Oversight can be imputed to the Authors or Actors.

This, my Lords, is my Opinion of our late Conduct, and therefore I cannot suppose, that there are at present any Pensioners in the other House, or any Pensioner in the Nation, but such as are entitled to it out of Charity, or such as have merited it by their past Services to the Publick. I shall admit, that a prudent Man will take Care to repair his House before it tumbles about his Ears; but no prudent Man will put himself to the Trouble and Expence of repairing his House, when no Flaw or Defect appears in any Part of it; and if it should ever appear from Experience, that our Laws for excluding Pensioners from the other House, are in any Respect deficient, I hope those who have a Regard for the Liberties of their Country, will take the Alarm, Time enough to get that Defect remedied, before the most artful Minister can secure such an abandoned Majority of Pensioners in the other House, as to render the Cure impossible; for it is an old Maxim, *Nemo repente sit turpissimus*, and this Maxim may be applied to an Assembly, with as much, if not more Justice, than to any single Man.

But suppose, my Lords, I were convinced, that these Laws had by late Experience been found deficient, I should nevertheless be against the

the Method proposed by this Bill for removing that Defect; because, I think the Remedy more dangerous than the Disease. Our Constitution, my Lords, and the Happiness of it, consists in an equal Mixture of the three principal Forms of Government; and therefore, no new Regulation ought to be made, that visibly tends to destroy that Equality, or that Balance, upon which our Constitution depends. We have as much Reason to avoid every Thing that may tend to the introducing of a Republican Form of Government, which generally ends in an absolute Tyranny, as we have to avoid those Things that may tend to the introducing of an absolute Monarchy. In all such Cases, we should consider, that we are steering between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*; and that by too cautiously avoiding the one, we may make a Wreck of our Constitution upon the other. For this Reason, we ought of all Things to be cautious of vesting any new and distinct Powers in the other House; and as this Bill vests in them a new Power, which they are to exercise separately and distinctly by themselves, and without the Concurrence of either of the other two Branches of our Legislature, I think it would expose us to the Danger of falling under a Republican Form of Government, and consequently, an absolute Tyranny, a great deal more than we are at present exposed to the Danger of falling under an absolute Monarchy.

I know, my Lords, that great Endeavours have of late been used, to persuade the People, that there is a great Number of Pensioners in the other House; and as those of an inferior Rank are naturally suspicious, as well as envious of their Superiors, these Endeavours have, I believe, succeeded with a great many, so as to make them fond of

this Bill. As their Penetration is not generally very extensive, they do not see the fatal Consequences it is attended with; and therefore, they suppose, that none but those who pay or receive Pensions, can be against it. I am, therefore, sensible, I undertake a very unpopular Task, when I oppose this Bill; but I disdain a slavish Popularity, as much as I should disdain a slavish Submission to the Pleasure of any Prince or Minister. The Favour of the People may, I know, be acquired by humouring their Prejudices, as well as that of a Prince by humouring his Passions; but this Sort of Favour is, in neither Case, of any long Duration. The People by their Prejudices, as well as the Prince by his Passions, generally soon lead themselves into some Misfortune; and as soon as this happens, the Parasite, in both Cases, becomes hateful and contemptible.

For this Reason, my Lords, we ought, in no Case that comes before us, to give ourselves any Concern about what the People may think without Doors. We ought to consider only the Circumstances of the Case, as they appear to us; and when we do this deliberately, and resolve accordingly, the People without Doors, as soon as they have had Time to hear and consider our Reasons, will generally approve of our Resolutions; and will then begin to hate and despise those, who endeavoured to prepossess them with a bad Opinion of either House of Parliament.

The next that rose up was L. Æmilius Paullus, whose Speech was in Substance thus:

My Lords,

WE are now upon a Bill for putting an End to, or at least preventing one Sort of Corruption in the other House; and from the

the Opposition the Bill meets with here, and the imaginary Dangers that are suggested for supporting, or rather excusing that Opposition, those who are not personally acquainted with the noble Lords, who have spoke upon that Side of the Question, would, I think, be apt to suppose their Opinion to be, either that Corruption is now become a necessary Evil, without which the Forms of our Government could not be preserved, or that it is an Evil of very little Consequence, and not at all inconsistent with the Substance of a free Government. Corruption, my Lords, has always hitherto been allowed to be vile, to be dangerous. I have, for my own Part, discouraged it in all Stations: I shall always disdain the Obedience, or the parasitical Sort of Assent that is to be gained only by Corruption; and I have always been sorry, when I observed it was not equally discouraged by others; for if it were no Way encouraged by those in high Stations, it would never be possible for the Mode in any Country to cover that Infamy, which naturally attends the Corrupted; nor would the Quality of the Offender ever atone for the wretched Meanness of the Offence.

I need not trouble your Lordships with explaining what is, in this Country, meant by a legal Administration: Every one knows what it is; and every one knows, that it may be easily supported without Corruption. Ministers, my Lords, (for according to our Constitution, we ought always to have a great many of them) that have nothing in View, but the publick Happiness, and who have Wisdom and Discernment enough to pursue that steadily, may despise the Assistance or Approbation of those, who assist or approve, only because they are paid for so doing. Such an Administration will always have the Ma-

ajority of the Nation of its Side, and consequently may, without any corrupt Means, have always a Majority in Parliament. Therefore, a legal and a wise Administration can never stand in Need of Corruption, for the Exercise of any of its Functions; but an illegal one, an Administration consisting of one sole and arrogant Minister, who will admit of no Partner or Assistant, but such as implicitly submit to his Direction, can never be supported without Corruption: It is against Law, and against Law it must be supported. Under such an Administration, indeed, the Forms of our Government cannot be preserved, without evading or violating our Laws against corrupt Practices; but under such an Administration, while it lasts, the Substance of our Constitution must be suspended, and we had better be without the Forms; for preserving the Forms of a free Government will only serve to lull and keep the People asleep, till their Chains are rivetted, and till one sole Minister has so firmly established his Power, that it may be easily transmitted to, or taken up by another. Many of our Princes, and their sole Ministers, have in vain endeavoured to establish an arbitrary Government, without the Assistance or Shew of a Parliament: They have endeavoured to do it by open Force, and by open Force they have been all disappointed, and the Ministers often hanged; but by the slow and silent Approaches of Corruption, especially now the Crown has got such a Variety of Means in its Power, an arbitrary Government, more destructive and more expensive than the other, may be established by the Authority, and supported by the Shadow of a Parliament; for if a Prince, or his sole Minister, should ever have it in his Power to have always a corrupt Majority in each House of Parliament, a *British* Parliament

liament will be no more than a *Turkish* Divan.

Corruption is therefore, my Lords, of all Dangers, the greatest our Constitution can be exposed to, and the most to be apprehended. Its Approach is imperceptible, but its Blow, if not prevented, is fatal; and you cannot prevent its Blow, unless you prevent its Approach. The Laws now in being for excluding Pensioners from having Seats in the other House, were designed as a Safe-guard against Corruption's entering, in one Shape at least, within the Walls of that House; and when we are considering, whether those Laws ought to be enforced, we have no Occasion for examining into late Measures, or for supposing that any late Practices have been made use of for corrupting the Members of either House. We have now as much Reason to guard against the Approach of Corruption, as we had when those Laws were made; therefore, we are now to consider only the Laws themselves, and if they appear to be insufficient, they ought to be amended, whether any corrupt Practices have lately been made use of or not. That these Laws are insufficient for the End intended, must, I think, plainly appear to every one that peruses them. There are Penalties, 'tis true, inflicted upon Pensioners that shall presume to sit or vote in the other House; but it is evident that those Penalties can never be recovered, because the Fact can never be proved. A Pension or a Bribe may be given in such a Manner, that even he who gives it, can be no direct Witness against the Receiver; and it is always given in such a secret Manner, that the Criminal may have good Reason to think, his Crime can never be discovered. For this Reason, no Penalty you can inflict, will ever have a great Effect; and this makes it

necessary, in Cases of Suspicion, to require an Oath from the Party suspected.

I shall not say, my Lords, that the Oath required by this Bill will have all the Effect that could be wished. There may be some so abandoned, as to despise the religious Ceremony of an Oath; but it will have an Effect upon a great many; and even the most abandoned will be shy of denying their having a Pension upon Oath, in the very Face, perhaps, of the Man who pays them their Pension. Nay, even Prudence itself will make Men shy of being guilty of Perjury, lest the Concealment of their Crime should afterwards be imputed to them as a Favour, and made use of as a Handle for obliging them to do as much dirty Work afterwards without a Pension, as they had done before for the Sake of a Pension. It is an old and a true Proverb, that when I trust a Man with my Secret, I make him my Master: An avaritious, or an extravagant necessitous Man may accept of iniquitous Wages from a Minister, and yet he would not, perhaps, chuse to be such an absolute Slave to that Minister, as he must be, should he put it in his Power to convict him of Perjury. Therefore, the Oath prescribed by this Bill, will certainly have a very great Effect; and as the Laws proposed to be enforced by this Bill, evidently appear to be insufficient, this Method of enforcing them ought to be chosen, at least till a more effectual one can be thought on.

What the noble Lords mean by present Danger, when they say we are in no present Danger from Corruption, I cannot comprehend. My Lords, it is an Evil we always have been, and always must be in Danger of. It has often been practised, it always will be practised, as often as Ambition in a Prince, or Wickedness

ness or Weakness in a Minister, renders it necessary for him to have Recourse to such an infamous Practice. We may sometimes be said to be in no present Danger of an Invasion, yet would he not be look'd on as a Madman, who should make that an Argument for not repairing our Navy, especially if, upon Inquiry, it should appear to be unfit for Service?

Without finding fault with any late Measures, without accusing any one in the Administration, I will affirm, my Lords, that we are now in greater Danger from Corruption, than we were either in the 4th and 5th of *Queen Anne*, or in the first of his late Majesty's Reign; for the more Power the Ministers of the Crown have to corrupt, whether they make use of that Power or no, the more Danger we are in from Corruption; and every one knows, that the Ministers of the Crown have now a much greater Power to corrupt, than they had at either of those Periods. This should make us resolve in Time, to take all the Methods that can be thought of for guarding against the Use of that Power; for it is already so great, that if we should have the Misfortune to fall under a Prince or Administration that will make use of it, I fear, it would then be impossible for us to guard against it. On the contrary, if the Means of Corruption, now in the Power of the Crown, should be thought insufficient for securing a perpetual corrupt Influence over both Houses of Parliament, such an Administration would take hold of every Grievance, every War, every Misfortune, the Nation could be exposed to, for encreasing those Means, in order to render the Effect infallible; and unless a most extraordinary Spirit of Virtue, as well as Jealousy, should begin to exert itself, I'm afraid, it would be im-

possible, as the Laws stand at present, to prevent their Success by any legal or peaceable Method. For this Reason, my Lords, I look upon the present Question to be a Sort of Trial of Skill, the Fate of which is to determine, whether or no our Constitution is hereafter to be destroyed by Corruption, and the People reduced to the fatal Necessity of endeavouring to restore it by the Sword. If this should ever come to be the unlucky Fate of this Nation, those who now oppose our making use of legal Means for preserving our Constitution, whilst it is yet in our Power, will have no great Reason to rejoice in their past Conduct.

Let us consider, my Lords, the vast Sums of Money that are now at the Disposal, or under the Direction of the Crown; the infinite Number of lucrative Posts, Places, and Employments, most of them unknown to our Ancestors, now depending upon the sole and arbitrary Pleasure of the Crown; and the great Variety of penal Laws, by one or other of which the most Innocent may be made to suffer, the most Cautious may be entrapped, and from which the most Guilty may be screened, by Virtue of that dispensing or mitigating Power, which, with respect to many of them, is now lodged in the Officers of the Crown: Let us, I say, my Lords, consider these Things, and we must acknowledge, that the present Danger we are in, of having our Parliament converted into a *Turkish* Divan, is far from being imaginary; and when we are under such well grounded Apprehensions, shall we rack our Invention for visionary Dangers, in order to excuse our agreeing to any Method for guarding against a Danger so real, and which may, upon the first Change of Ministers or Measures, become inevitable and irresistible?

I must confess, my Lords, I do not know what the noble Lord means, when he says, the Balance of our Constitution will be destroyed by Means of that separate and distinct new Power which, by this Bill, is to be lodged in the other House. I do not know of any Power that is by this Bill to be lodged in the other House, but the Power of turning a Man out, that ought not, that cannot, by the Laws now in being, sit or vote there; and this is a separate and distinct Power which that House now enjoys, and which has been always allowed. This Bill can, therefore, make no Alteration in what the noble Lord calls the Balance of our Constitution; but if by this Bill, or some such Bill, we do not prevent corrupt and mercenary Slaves from entering into that House, I can foresee where the Balance of our Constitution will soon come to be: It will soon come to be lodged in the Pocket of the Prime Minister for the Time being; and if our Liberties and Privileges depend upon that Balance, they will then be lodged in the same Place, which, in my Opinion, is the worst Repository they can be lodged in.

I therefore hope your Lordships will, by passing this Bill, take Care, that no Prime Minister shall ever be able to get the Balance of our Constitution into his Pocket; but I must here observe, that what is called the Balance, and, indeed, the Security of our Constitution, consists not in the Power which any of the three Branches of our Legislature has over itself, or any of its own Members, but in no one of them having a Power over either of the other two. As the three Branches of our Legislature are distinct, they ought to be independent; at least they ought to have no Dependency, but what proceeds from the publick Good, and the mutual Happiness of the three; for if any one of them should ever, by

Force or Corruption, get the absolute Direction or Command of the other two, our Constitution will then be undone, tho' the Forms of it might, perhaps, be preserved, in order to deceive the Vulgar and Ignorant. This is the Misfortune intended to be guarded against by this Bill; and it is not of late Years only, that this good Intention has been set on Foot. In the End of the late Queen's Reign, there was just such another Bill brought into this House, which at that Time met with so good a Reception here, that it was thrown out but by one Vote; and its meeting with that Fate was occasioned by the Fault of one noble Lord, who, at the Time the Question was put, happened to be in the Court of Requests, buying a Pen-knife, with two Proxies in his Pocket.

I shall acknowledge, my Lords, that I do not think the Bill now before us so perfect as it ought to be; but all its Defects may, I think, be easily remedied by proper Clauses and Amendments in the Committee; and if your Lordships go into a Committee upon it, I shall contribute the little I can towards making it a perfect Bill: I shall probably offer some Clauses, and particularly I think, it will be necessary to add one for punishing the Corruptor as well as the Corrupted. It is criminal to receive, but much more criminal to give a Bribe, and therefore the latter ought to be more severely punished: The very Attempt ought to be severely punished; and this, perhaps, would be as effectual a Method as any, to prevent the Committing of the Crime; for if it were made penal to offer, directly or indirectly, to give or receive a Bribe, or corrupt Pension, the Practice would become extremely dangerous, because he that offers cannot be beforehand assured, that the other will not, instead

stead of accepting, become an Evidence against him. In short, my Lords, if the Commons were serious, when they passed and sent us up this Bill, we ought to assist them as much as we can in purging their Assembly, or at least, in keeping it clean, from all Corruption. Whether they were serious or not, is, indeed, what I shall not determine; for I must confess, I have some Suspicions, when I consider, that this Bill was passed unanimously in that very Assembly, which soon after disagreed to a Motion for bringing in a Bill to exclude Placemen from having Seats in their House. There is such an Affinity between a Pension and a Sine-Cure Place with a good Salary, depending upon the Pleasure of the Crown, that I am not quick-sighted enough to discern the Difference; and therefore, I cannot see the Reason, why any Member of the other

House that was seriously resolved to exclude Pensioners from that Assembly, should disagree to the bringing in of a Bill for excluding at least some Sorts of Placemen. But, my Lords, if the other House, or any Part of it, was not serious when they passed this Bill, I think, we should make them so, by sending it back with such Additions and Amendments, as they can find no Shadow of Reason for disagreeing to. By this Means, we may get a Bill passed into a Law, which will be of infinite Service for securing our Constitution, and which we could not, perhaps, have got their Concurrence in, if the Bill had been first modelled and brought in here.

[This DEBATE and JOURNAL to be continued in our MAGAZINE for the Month of January 1741.]

INDEX to the DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, to the ESSAYS, POLITICKS, Domestick and Foreign OCCURRENCES, &c. 1740.

A. ABSOLUTE Power necessary some where or other 2
 Acts pass'd 151, 240, 612
 Administration should consist of a great Number of Persons 260 E. What may naturally raise a Party against the best 530
 Admirals, List of 247
 Advice to the King should be attended with Dignity 427
Æmilius Mamercinus, L. his Speech against the Bill relating to the Sugar Colonies 168
Æmilius Paullus, L. his Speech in relation to a Vote of Credit 157. Against the Paragraph in the Address, about Heats and Animosities 275. In favour of the Pension Bill 630
 Affairs, of the present State of 233, 492 B, 581
 African Slave Trade defended 493
 African Trade, an Argument from it, against the Bill relating to the Sugar Colonies 170.
 Answer'd 174 A
Agrippa, M. his Speech on his Majesty's

Message relating to the Treaty with Denmark, and a Vote of Credit 108. His Speech against the Paragraph in the Address, about Heats and Animosities 204. His Speeches in favour of the Motion, that the sending his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12. to the House of Commons singly, was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 462, 465, 477
 Aldermen, resolved in Common Council and in the Court of Aldermen, that they have not the Power of putting a Negative upon the Framing of a Question 557, 558
 Ambition in private Life 65
 Ambitious, Avaritious and Luxurious 62
 America, Debate on the Question, whether a Bill ought to be brought in for encouraging our Trade there, &c. 305, &c.
 Amsterdam, Number of Deaths and Marriages there 48
Anson, Commodore, sails with Vice-Admiral Balchen, and returns 403. Sails again with Sir Chaloner Ogle 456, 457, 508, 509
 Archduchess Maria Teresa, deliver'd of a Prince 4 R 2

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

Princess 51. She succeeds to the Emperor's hereditary Dominions 563
Argyll, Duke of, resigns his Places 241. Arrives at *Edinburgh* 297. His Answer to the Compliments of the Royal Boroughs 350. Addresses to him from several Incorporations of Trade in *Edinburgh* 402, 403. His Answer 403. The Guildry of *Edinburgh's* Compliments to him 455. His Answer *ibid.*
 Aristocracy, absolute, better than an absolute Monarchy 3
 Army, some Thoughts on it 136. The Danger we may be in of being attack'd at home, us'd as an Argument against diminishing it 376, 377. The Largeness of it may very well admit of Draughts to be made out of it for Marines 378
 Arts and Sciences, of encouraging them 544
 Affizes 151, 191, 196, 403, 405
Athenian and *Spartan* Governments 340
Augustine besieg'd by General *Oglethorpe* 403.
 Rejoicings in *Spain* for raising the Siege 563
Aulus Gabinius, his Speech in favour of the Bill for encouraging Seamen 357. His Speech in favour of the Motion for addressing his Majesty to raise the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 372
 B.
BÆBIUS *Tamphilus*, M. his Speech in favour of the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen, &c. 317
Balcen, Vice-Admiral, sails 196. He sails with Commodore *Aspen*, and returns 403
Baltick-Merchant taken by a *Spanish* Privateer, and Col. *Braitwaite* murder'd 350, 351
 Bank Bill, a remarkable Trial about one 612
 Bankrupt's Confession of his own Folly and Misconduct 181
 Barber, political Story of 177 G, 178. His Letter to Mr. *D'Amvers* 336
Barnard, Sir *John*, chosen President of *Christ's* Hospital 245
Bavaria, Elector of, disputes the Succession of the Emperor's eldest Daughter 563
Benn, *William*, Esq; chosen Alderman of *Aldersgate* Ward 558
Bergues and *Juliers*, Affair of 199
Biche in *Lorraine*, strengthened by the *French* 303
 Bill of Mortality. See Burials
 Bills and Motions brought in or propos'd on the Country Side, and rejected by the other 491 C
Bing, Capt. retakes the *Winter-Galley* 403
Bob Short's Hint about Salaries and Perquisites 183
 Boroughs, the Venality of many of our little ones 538
Bourbon, Duke of, his Death 103
Braitwaite, Col. his barbarous Murder 350, 351
Branch, Mrs. Trial of her and her Daughter

for the Murder of their Servant Girl 191.
 Their Execution 241
 Breaches and Disputes between the two Houses 478
Brest Squadron 355. Sails with the *Toulon* Squadron 459. *French* King's Manifesto thereupon 545
 Bribery and Corruption began under *Charles* II. 11 D. See Corruption
 Bridge-Master chosen 299, 301
 Britain's Mistakes in the Commencement and Conduct of the War, some Passages from that Pamphlet 179, 181
Brown, Commodore, arrives in *England* 506
Buckingham, late Duke of, a Speech of his against Placemen 36
Buckingham Man of War separated from Sir *Chaloner Ogle's* Fleet in a Storm 559
Buckingham. See Instructions
 Burials, Monthly Account of 50, 102, 154, 198, 250, 302, 354, 406, 458, 510, 562, 614. Yearly Account of 613
 C.

CADIZ Squadron sails 199. Arrives at *Ferrol* 244, 245
 Call of the House, Debate on the Question relating to it 565—579
Cambridge, the Commencement there, and Degrees conferr'd 350
 Candidates, Meeting of the Liverymen to nominate four for the next General Election 560
Canuleus, his Speech 24 B
Carmarthen. See Instructions
Carolina, Account of the Insurrection of the Negroes there 151, 152
Carthage, a Plan of it 194. Bombarded by Admiral *Vernon* 299
Carvilius, Sp. his Speech in favour of the Pension Bill 623
Cassius Longinus, L. his Speech and Motion for an Address 201. His Speech against the Pension Bill 621
Cathcart, Lord, the Declaration, 'tis said, he is to publish in *America* 545
Cato, M. his Speech and Motion in relation to a Bill for encouraging Seamen 305, 306. His second Speech in favour of that Motion, and his Reasons for making it 361, 362, &c. His Answer to the Objections against the Motion, and against the Bill itself 366, 367, 368. His Speech in favour of the Motion for raising the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 415. His Speech in favour of the Place-Bill 521. His Speech and Motion for a Call of the House 565
Cavendish, Admiral, commands the Fleet in the Absence of Sir *John Norris* 456
Cecil, of the Comparison between him and the present Minister 395 F. His Character, and the Cause of his Popularity 442. The bad Measures he avoided 443
 Celibacy, the Fault of those who recommend it

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

- it as a Christian Perfection, and their Arguments answer'd 230, 231
- Chagre*, authentick Account of Admiral *Vernon's* Success there 341. Remarks upon it 342. Plan of the Place 404
- Characters, Misapplication of 129
- Charles II.* Bribery and Corruption began in his Reign 14 D. He sells *Dunkirk* to the French 582
- Charles XII.* of Sweden, Story of him 34 D
- Charles V.* Emperor, a pleasant Story of him and a Cöbler at *Brussels* 66 D
- Charter-House*, new Governor chosen 101
- Chimney-Sweepers and Negroes, political Observations on them 75
- Christenings. See Burials
- Cibber*, Mr. his political Allegory 344
- Cicerejus*, C. his Speech in relation to his Majesty's Message of February 12. 463. His Speech against the Pension Bill 628
- Cicero*, Q. his Speech against the Pension Bill 579
- Citizens, their Conduct at the Election of Lord Mayor in 1739, justified 64
- City Address on the taking of *Porto Bello* 189
- Claudius Nero*, C. his Speech against the Paragraph in the Address, about Heats and Animosities 272
- Cleland*, Capt. his Bravery and Success 155
- Club, an Account of one in the North of England 21
- Coals, exorbitant Price of 81, 147
- Cobbam*, Lord, Characters of the Worthies at his Seat at *Stowe* 335
- Cöbler at *Brussels*. See *Charles V.*
- College of Physicians consulted by the Lords of the Admiralty 403
- Common Council, their Thanks to the four Representatives 297
- Common Law's humble Petition to Common Sense 388
- Common Sense's Postscript concerning a political Pamphlet 31. His Postscript with regard to the *Croftsmen's* Answer to the Spanish Declaration of War 40. *Pistol's* threatening Letter to him 137
- Commons, House of, the Freedom of our Government consists in it 10. Whether the Danger of having it brought under the absolute Direction of the Crown be sufficiently guarded against 17. Ridiculous to have a Majority of Placemen in it *ibid.* D
- Conclave for chusing a new Pope 199
- Constantinople*, Tumults and Conspiracies there 408
- Constituents, their Right and Duty with regard to their Representatives 57, 58, 63
- Constitution, the true Method of fixing it 88. Of tinkering it 91 G. See Government
- Convention, the late one censur'd 263. Vindicated 266. Of its being approv'd by Parliament 268, 277. Arguments in favour of it answer'd 274
- Conversation 603
- Corn, Disturbances on Account of the Exportation of it 350
- Corrupt Influence, Dangers from it 58, &c. Of declaiming on it 431
- Corruption pav'd the Way to Slavery among the Romans 61. Difference between private and publick Corruption 63. When it is dangerous, and when it may be necessary 514. It is not the Effect, but the Cause of a general Depravity of Manners 526. How it may be propagated 537, 538
- Corfica*, Proceedings of the French there 303
- Courland*, Duke of, appointed Regent during the Minority of the young *Czar* 563. Is on a sudden divested of the Regency, and arrested 615
- Cowper*, Capt. of the *Townshend* Packet, Extract of a Letter from him, of his being taken by the Spaniards 351
- Croftsmen's* Answer to the Spanish Declaration of War 35. His Remarks on the *Gazetteer's* Arguments against a Place-Bill 40 F, 90. His Remarks on a *Hague* Letter 284, 285. His Remarks occasion'd by a Paragraph in the *Gazetteer*, reflecting on the late Sir *William Wyndham* 336 G
- Cromwell*, *Oliver*, Extracts from his Declaration against Spain 447. Remarks on it 448 G, 449. *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk* taken under his Protectorate 582
- Crown, two dangerous Maxims refuted relating to the Power of it 54, 55. How almost the whole executive Power came to be lodg'd in it 55 E. Its Influence at Elections and in Parliament never became dangerous, till after the Restoration 56. Difference between it and the People, with regard to inquiring into, and judging of the Behaviour of Members of Parliament 64, 65. Its Power during the Recess of Parliament 115. Of distinguishing between the Respect due to it, and that claim'd by the Ministers 310. No Wonder that Ministers should be against taking any discretionary Power from it 326
- Cumberland*, Duke of, his Birth-Day celebrated 196. Espouses the Princess *Mary* for the Prince of *Hesse* 242. Goes on board the Fleet at *Spithead* 350. Returns to *St. James's* 456
- Czarina*, the Plot against her 51. The Ratifications of the Peace between her and the Turks 103. Her Death, and Appointment of her Successor, &c. 563
- D.
- D**AMPIER, Story from 178
- D'Ancre*, Marechal, his Fate 288 D
- Danes, how they lost their Liberties 33 D
- Danger of Mercenary Parliaments, written in the Reign of K. William 436—442
- DEBATES in the Learned and Political Club, viz. in relation to a Place-Bill 1—20, 53—65. In relation to his Majesty's Message about the Treaty with *Denmark*,

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

- mark, and for a Vote of Credit 105—118, 157—168. On the Bill for allowing the direct Exportation of Sugars from our Colonies to foreign Parts 168—175. Occasion'd by his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of the Session in 1739, 201—219, 253—279. On the Question, whether a Bill ought to be brought in for encouraging our Trade in *America*, and for encouraging Seamen to enter into his Majesty's Service 305—330, 357—369. On the Question, whether an Address should be presented to his Majesty, humbly to recommend to him the raising of the intended Body of Marines, by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 369—380, 409—432. On the Question, whether the sending his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12. to the House of Commons singly, was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 432—436, 461—482. On the Question, whether a Bill should be brought in, for the better securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers to sit in the House of Commons 482—489, 513—538. On the Question relating to the Call of the House 565—579. On the Pension Bill 579—581, 617—635
- Debates, who are usually cool, and who warm in them 409, 421
- Declaration of War, the Form of it commended. 262, 263, 277
- Denmark*, Extracts from Lord *Molesworth's* Account of it, with Remarks 33. Debate occasion'd by his Majesty's Message concerning the Treaty with that Crown, 105, &c. 108, &c.
- Dependency, the several Sorts of, explain'd, 4, &c. Methods for preventing the most pernicious 7. A constitutional and an anti-constitutional Dependency 8. Of natural and honest, and corrupt and scandalous Dependencies 132
- Derbyshire*. See Instructions
- De Rhode*, Marchioness, her Death, and that of her Steward 103
- Dewell*, comes to Life again after he was hang'd 560
- Dictatorial Power of the Crown 159, 163
- Discretionary Powers of the Crown should be as few as possible 326
- Division, the only one of late Years amongst us 260 C. Whether there can be one between the whole People on one Side, and the Ministers on the other 271, 276. See Heats and Animosities
- Doddington*, Mr. resigns his Office of Commissioner of the Treasury 508
- Domitius Aenobarbus*, Cn. his Speech against raising the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 473
- Domitius Calvinus*, Cn. his Speech on his Majesty's Message relating to the Treaty with *Denmark*, and a Vote of Credit 105.
- In Defence of the Paragraph about Heats and Animosities in the Address 212. In relation to his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12. 470
- Dormer*, Rev. Mr. and his Wife kill'd in the great Storm at the Beginning of November 557
- Dormer*, John, Esq; the Judgment in his Favour, in the Cause between him and Judge *Fortescue Aland* 558
- Drew*, Mr. Charles, his Trial and Execution for the Murder of his Father 193, 195. His Confession 248
- Duillius*, C. his Speech against the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 315
- Dunkirk*, the French Works there 456, 459. Memorial of Lord *Waldegrave* on that Occasion 511. The French Minister's Answer *ibid*. Extracts from a Pamphlet, entitled, *The Case of Dunkirk considered* 547. It was taken by *Cromwell*, and sold by *K. Charles II.* 582. Account of it since, to the present Time 583
- Duronius*, L. his Speech against the Motion, that the sending his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12. to the House of Commons singly was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 434. He moves for the previous Question 464 F
- Dutch* resolve to augment their Army and Navy 459
- Dutch Ship* taken by the *Vernon Privateer* 611
- Dutch Vessels* taken by a *Spanish Privateer* 459
- Duty, four Measures of it 119
- E.
- Earthquake in *Sicily* 251. Of one who liv'd many Years after having been swallowed up by an Earthquake 456
- Echoing back the King's Speech in Addresses, the Custom of 259; 260, 264, 274
- Election of Parliament Men, a Letter from a Gentleman in the Country, in the Beginning of *Queen Anne's* Reign, relating to it 120
- Elections, of Disturbances and Tumults at them 63
- Elizabeth*, Queen, the Practice of influencing Electors in her Reign 79 F. Her wife Conduct 367 F. How she treated her Parliaments, and the Reason of it 486, 487
- Embargo, a new one 100. Taken off 196. Another on Ships laden with Corn, &c. 611
- Embargo in *Ireland* 508
- Emperor, the Ratifications of the Peace between him and the *Turks* 51. His Death 511. The Disputes that are likely to follow in the Empire 563
- English Language*, an Apology for it, to be us'd in Treaties and Negotiations 598

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

- English Ships taken by Spanish Privateers* 199,
300, 303, 350, 351
Epernon, Duke of, his Character 287 G.
His Letter to *Lewis XIII.* 288
Estimates, of laying them before the Com-
mons only 468
Excise-Scheme, of the late one 525
Executions at *Tyburn*, &c. 101, 241, 402,
560
Executive Power subordinate to the Legisla-
tive 534
- F.
- FABIUS Maximus, Q.** his Speech against
the Proposal of *C. Plinius Cæcilius*, and
his Motion for an Amendment in relation
to the Paragraph about Heats and Animo-
sities 278
Fancies, of indulging extravagant ones 587
Fashionable Education display'd 139
Fashionable Style 129
Fast, national, observ'd 47. Proclamation for
another 613
Fat, Mr. his Promotion 75
Fawning and Cringing, the Science of, Pro-
posals for teaching it 83
Female Government, a septennial one, being
a new Project for the thorough Reforma-
tion of the Males 27. An Amendment
propos'd by *Mrs. Welldone* 72. *Mr. Osborne's*
Letter to *Mr. D'Amers* on the Occasion 74
Ferrol Squadron, Advice of it 244, 303. It
sails 408, 455
Flattery, how to apply it 84 E
Fleuri, Cardinal, of his Love of Peace 184
Foundling Hospital, Proceedings of the Go-
vernors and Guardians 47, 147, 151, 245,
299, 506, 557, 612
Four-Wheel Carriages, a Dissertation upon
them 380—386
France, Rumour of a speedy Rupture with
it 355. Of the Number of military Offi-
cers there 412, 422. The Apprehensions
of a Rupture with it increase 459
Free Constitution, no Season so dangerous to
it as the Time of a popular War 379 B
Freeholders and Farmers of *England*, an Ad-
dress to them 394, 443
Freeman's Petition to the Master of the Swi-
neries 228. His Plan of Pacification 282
French our Rivals in the Sugar Trade 171 D
French Court, their Proceedings 303, 459.
With regard to *Dunkirk* 511
French Influence, &c. a Quotation from that
Pamphlet 584
French King's Manifesto concerning the De-
parture of the *Brest* and *Toulon* Squadrons
545
French Mediation 343
French Play, Extract from 390
Frost, the great one this Year 48. Accounts
from abroad of the Severity of it 100.
A remarkable Account from *Holland* of the
Intenseness of it *ibid.* When it abated
here 101. Account of the Weather after-
wards 248. Another severe, but short
Frost 612
Fulwius, Cn. his Speech against raising the
Marines by Draughts from the Regiments
of Foot 409
Furius Camillus, M. his Speech in favour of
the Place-Bill 533
- G.
- G—GE L—d**, his Speech in favour of
the Place-Bill 219. His Speech against
the Bill for registering Seamen, &c. 221
Gazetteer, Extracts from it 79, 183, 228,
499, 549, 597. Its Invectives against a
n—ble L—d 123. Remarks upon it 178,
225, 542. Its Treatment of Admiral *Ver-*
non and the City of *London* 291. Remarks
on a Paragraph in it, reflecting on the late
Sir W. Wyndham 336 G. Its Defence of
the M—r examin'd 489
Geganius, L. his Speech relating to the Call
of the House 576
General Elections, the People's Approbation
of our past Measures argu'd from them
267
Gibraltar, Courts of Judicature appointed there
245. A Plan of it 298
Godschall, Sir Robert, his Letter to the Live-
rymen 508
Gosfon, Sir John, a threatening Letter sent to
him 197
Good Nature, and the Abuse of that Word
130, 131
Government, Difference between a free and a
slavish one 2. In all free ones there must
be an Assembly of the People, either by
themselves or their Representatives 3, 4.
None can be really free, unless such Assem-
bly be free and independent 4. Inconveni-
encies of a Government absolutely free or
popular 9. Ours a mixt Government, and
its Freedom consists in the House of Com-
mons 10. State of it from the Conquest to
Henry VII. and the Alteration made by
him 11. State of it under *James* and
Charles I. *ibid.* Changes in Government,
and of the *Athenian* and *Spartan* Govern-
ments 339 G, 340. Of the *Turkish* Go-
vernment 344. The Forms of a free one
retained, when Liberty is lost 468, 469
Grecian Prince, a pleasant Story of one 587
Greenwich-Hospital, of the Act for applying
the Profits of the late Lord *Derwentwater's*
Estate to it 491
Guildford Church falls down 196
Gildry of Edinburgh's Compliments to the
Duke of *Argyll* 455
- H.
- HABEAS- Corpus Act** 542
Haddock, Admiral, cannonades a *Spa-*
nish Fort, but retires without Success 563
Hanover, the Poor relieved there 251
Hanover, Treaty of, and our warlike Prepa-
rations after it 254. Account of the
Charges the Nation has been put to by our
warlike

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

warlike Preparations and pacific Measures, since that Treaty to 1738 257, 258
Hart-Hall erected into a College 456
Havanah, a Plan of it 192
Heatbroke, Alderman, chose Lord Mayor, but declines 506. Is excus'd by the Common-Council 506, 507
Heats and Animofities, the War charg'd upon them 202. Debate upon the Paragraph relating to them in the propos'd Address 204. Of mentioning them in his Majesty's Speech 206. Reasons against mentioning them in an Address 212. Whether his Majesty meant them of those without Doors, or within 213, 218. What must be intended by them at this Time 218 G. The Cause of them 253, 258. How they have been put an End to, and what may revive them 259. Between whom they have been 261. The best Way to prevent the Renewing of them 263 D. The Cautions against them have been ever since the *Excise Scheme* 276
Heireis, Trial and Judgment for seducing one 101
Helvius, C. his Speech in favour of the Paragraph in the Address, about Heats and Animofities 264
Henry VI. the Judges declar'd that he erred in appointing a Sheriff 550, 551
Henry VIII. the first who prorogu'd Parliaments 540, 541. A Parliament in his Reign pass'd an Act to annihilate all Debts he had contracted upon Loans 618 B
Herennius, C. his Speech in favour of the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 323
Hesse, Prince of. See *Mary*, Princess
Hoare, Richard, Esq; chosen Alderman 196
Homer, a Passage of his apply'd to Admiral *Vernon* 291
Honesty or Roguery, whether is the best Policy 31 A
Horatius Barbatius, M. his Speech and Motion, that the sending his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12. to the House of Commons singly was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 432. His Speech in favour of the Pension Bill 618
Horse-Race Bill, Clauses in it 248
Hortensius, L. his Speech against the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 321
Hounslow-Heath, the Camp there 297, 299. Humorous Observations on an Accident that befel it 449
Hudibras, Verses from him, of going to Law, and the Practices of Lawyers 387, 388
Huffer, an Animal in the *West-Indies*, *Dampier's* Account of it 178
Human Life, Reflexions on 283
Hungary and *Bohemia*, the Emperor's eldest Daughter proclaim'd Queen of, but her Title disputed by the Elector of *Bavaria* 563. An Ambassador arrives from her

612. She associates her Husband the Duke of *Tuscany* with her in the Government 615

Huntingdon. See Instructions

I.

JACKSON, Daniel, condemn'd for the Murder of his Wife, and dies in *Newgate* 612
Jamaica, our Possession of it owing to *Cromwell* 583
James II. happy for the Nation that he attack'd our Religion 11, 12
Julius, L. his Speech about Heats and Animofities 278
Jenkins, Capt. the Man who cut off his Ear found at *Porto Bello* 150
Jews, their wearing a distinguishing Badge at *Rome*, apply'd to Pensioners 620 C
Impeachments in Parliament, when it is imprudent and impracticable to proceed to them 465 B
Ingrossers of Corn, Order for enforcing the Law against them 350
Innocence betray'd, or a Warning to the Fair Sex 594
Innovations gradually introduc'd 565
Institution of a Prince, &c. Extracts from it 70, 284
Instructions to Representatives about a Place-Bill, from the County of *Huntingdon* 38. From *Carmarthen* *ibid.* From *Stamford* 78. From the County of *Middlesex* 245. From *London* 297. From *Buckinghamshire*, and the Town of *Buckingham* 352, 353. From *Derbyshire* 455. From *Somersetshire* *ibid.* From *Truro* in *Cornwall* 543
Insuring-Trade, an Argument from it against the Bill relating to the Sugar Colonies 170. Answer'd 174 D
Invasion, of one from *Spain* singly, or from *France* and *Spain* together 417, 418
Jobb, Mr. Robert, a Placeman, Dialogue between him and *George Mansion*, Esq; a West-Country Gentleman 590
Ireland, the Embargo there 508
Irene, Story of her asking Advice of *Æsculapius* 338
Iris Play, Extract from 338 F, 339
Italy, of the late War there 255
Julius Caesar and the Romans, Case of 5 B. 66
Junius Brutus, L. his Speech in favour of the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 309. His Speech and Motion for an Address to his Majesty to raise the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 369. His Speech and Motion for a Place-Bill 482

K.

KEITH, General, introduc'd to his Majesty 48
KING, his Answer to the Address of both Houses on the Taking of *Porto-Bello* 151. To the City Address on the same Occasion 189. To an Address of the Commons *ibid.*

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

ibid. Debate in the Political Club, occasion'd by his Speech at the Opening of the Session in 1739 201—219, 253—279. Of his Journey to *Hanover*, and various Opinions about it 232, 234. His Speech at the End of the Session 240. His Answer to the Compliments of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on the Princess *Mary's* Marriage 244. He sets out for *Hanover* 245. Lands at *Helvoetsluis* 248. He returns from *Hanover* to *England* 507. His Answer to the Compliments of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on that Occasion *ibid.* His Birth-Day celebrated 509. His Speech at the Opening of the present Session 558. His Answer to the Lords Address 560. *Kirkaldy* in *Scotland*, the melancholy Accident near that Place 47. *Knowles*, Capt. his Success 153. *Kouli-Kan*, his Success against the *Great Mogul* 51. The vast Riches he carried out of his Country 460.

L.

LADIES, of the affected Dress of some of them 338 B. Ladies consulting their Looking-glasses 497. Land-holders, the true Way of relieving them 367. Land-Tax Bill pass'd 612. The *Laureat*, &c. Remarks on that Pamphlet, and Extracts from it 596. Law, the Caution that should be used in making any perpetual 319. Law, of the present Practice of it 387. Laws which had their Rise from the Country Party 492. *Leucippe*, her Case, as related by herself 594. *Lewis XIV.* a remarkable Passage concerning him 184. Liberties, of a proper Time for securing them, and the Example of the *Romans* and of our Ancestors in the Reign of *Richard II.* 18. They consist not in our having the Resemblance of a Parliament 524. Gentlemen of Fortune and Interest may betray them 536. Lord Mayor, Proceedings relating to the last Election of 457. A particular Account of that Affair 506, 507, 508. Lords Address 559. Lords Justices appointed 244. Lottery, the Drawing of it finish'd 48. The Drawing of the other begins 611. Love of Country, antient and modern Methods of inspiring the People with it 230. Causes of its Decay among *Britons* *ibid.* A. *Louisa*, Princess, her Birth-Day celebrated 611. *Lucilius* and *Clodius*, their Characters 446. Luxury, the Mischiefs of it 181. *Lycurgus*, his Speech in relation to a Place-Bill 53.

M.

MACHIAVEL's Letter from the Dead 538. Mackay, Capt. his Bravery 245. *Mabon*, Plan of the Town and Harbour, &c. 246.

Mails robb'd 150, 189. *Majorca*, Account from thence 155. Malt-Tax Bill, Observations on it 565. Man of Honour, and Person of Honour, of the Distinction between them 446. *Manius Valerius*, his Speech 24. *Marchmont*, late Earl of, his Character 127. Of his two Sons 128. Marines, Debate on the Question, Whether they should be rais'd by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 369—380, 409—432. Objection against it from the usual Form of Proceedings 410. Of forming the Marines into Regiments 411, 422, 423. Difference between them and Soldiers 413 B. What they are 415. The Land Service for which they are design'd 423. Whether they should be form'd into independent Companies, or Regiments 429. Of their Field and other Officers 430. Marines, additional ones 100. Marriage a Duty of Morality 230. Proposal for an Intelligence-Office for it 236. The *Martial Feast* 227. *Mary*, Princess, her Birth-Day celebrated 101. His Majesty's Message concerning her Marriage with the Prince of *Hesse* 147. The Form of Solemnization of her Espousals 241, 242. The Archbishop's Speech and Benediction on the Occasion 242. Compliments of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen 244. Her Answer *ibid.* She sets out for *Hesse-Cassel* 297. Order of St. *Catherine* confer'd on her by the *Cesarina* 351. She with her Consort waits on the King at *Herenhausen* 402. Masters and Mistresses, their peevish Temper expos'd in a Scene from a *French Play* 390. *Mezanas*, his Speech for raising the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 378. His Speech in favour of the Place-Bill 487. His Speech relating to the Call of the House 574. Member of Parliament, his Duty 415, 416. Mercenary Parliaments, the Danger of 436—442. Merchants, Arguments for considering them in the Prizes taken from the Enemy, as well as the Captors 307, 308, 330. The most proper and effectual Way of shewing Compassion for them 313, 367. Message from the Crown, of waiting for one 306, 307, 311, 315, 317. Message, his Majesty's of Feb. 12. Debate on the Question, Whether the sending it to the House of Commons singly was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 432—436, 461—482. Of the Message to the Commons in 1726, in which they were called the Parliament 467, 471. See Vote of Credit. Messages, three Sorts of, usually sent to both or either House 475, 476. Of those for

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

- a Vote or an Act of Credit 478 E. A great Difference between those in Writing, and verbal ones 480. The Method of sending them to Parliament but of late Date 481
- Middlesex* Election and Instructions 245
- The *Minister*, in several Chapters 182
- Minister, of one assuming Authority over the rest 287
- Ministerial Language 599
- Ministerial Power, of lodging the Whole of it in one Person 233
- Ministerial Writers, their Conduct 39. Their Arguments against a Place-Bill, answer'd 90. Of their reckoning Places but at 3 Years Purchase *ibid.* A
- Ministers ought to be the Advisers of every Speech from the Throne 275 E. Of distinguishing between the Respect due to the Crown, and that claim'd by them 310. No Wonder they should be against taking any discretionary Power from the Crown 326. Of the Treatment they generally meet with 376 D. Their Invasions more frequent than the Invasions of Foreigners 416
- Ministers, wicked, their Arts and Practices 133
- Mitchell*, Capt. Commander of the *Buckingham*, separated from Sir *Chaloner Ogle* by a Storm 559. Made Commander of the *Argyle* 560
- Mogul* beaten by *Kouli-Kan* 51
- Money Bills, a Speech said to have been deliver'd on the presenting them 223
- Monson*, Sir *William*, a remarkable Passage in his Naval Tracts 444
- Mucius Scaevola*, C. his Speech against the Paragraph about Heats and Animosities 268
- Munick*, Count, has Poison given him, but recovers 407. He arrests the Duke of *Courland* 615
- Murders 191, 193, 195, 350, 612
- Muffin Fushin*, Court, his Tongue pluck'd out, and his odd Behaviour 407
- Mutiny Bill, an Argument drawn from it against one Part of the Vote of Credit 113. Answer'd 116 G, 117. The Argument made good 166. Of a Clause propos'd in the last 136 B. The Arguments against it *ibid.* D. Observation on the Bill in general 565
- N.
- NAVY, Ways and Means to man it, &c. 134
- Negative, resolved that the Court of Aldermen have not the Power of putting it upon the Framing of a Question 557, 558
- Negroes. See *Carolina*, and Chimney-Sweepers
- New-raisd Troops, of sending them upon an Expedition 419
- Norris*, Sir *John*, hoists his Flag on board the *Victory* 299. Comes to an Anchor at *St. Helen's*, his Ship having receiv'd Damage 351. Sails again 352. Is Wind-bound at *Torbay*, and sails again 403. Returns to *Torbay* 455. Arrives at *Spithead* 456
- O.
- O'BRIAN stands in the Pillory 612
- Officers civil and military, of their Number and Influence 412, 423
- Ogle*, Sir *Chaloner*, List of Ships under him 457. He sails for the *West-Indies* 508, 509. Account of him by the *Buckingham*, which was separated from him in a Storm 559
- Oglethorpe*, General, his Proceedings against the *Spaniards* 197. *St. Augustine* besieged by him 403. The Siege rais'd 563
- Oppius*, C. his Speech in relation to his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12. 464
- Opposition justify'd 273
- Orange*, Prince of, of his Interest in the United Provinces 459
- Ormond*, late Duke of, arrives at the *Spanish* Court 199. Prepares for his Return to *Avignon* 459
- Osborne*, Mr. his Letter to Mr. D'Anvers 74
- P.
- PARLIAMENT of *England*, and Parliaments of *France*, Conversation with a *French* Nobleman about them 112 A
- Parliament, how its Consent ought to be given 165. The Crime of misrepresenting it to the King 218. Of the Choice of one 343 C. Its Duties 483. The antient Constitution of it 540 D. When the Custom of proroguing it began 540, 541
- Parliamentary Enquiries very rare of late 535
- Parsons*, *Humphry*, Esq; chose Lord Mayor a second Time 507, 508. Sworn in 509
- Parties, three different ones in the Kingdom 530 F
- Peace, Rumours of 285 B, E, 303, 355
- Peddie*, Capt. *John*, loses his Ship in the great Storm 557. Rewarded with the Command of the *Basilisk*, and with considerable Presents and Contributions 561
- Peerage Bill in 1718, and the Message relating to it 480
- Pension, a Distinction between it and a Bribe 620 A
- Pension Bill, Debate on it 579—581, 617—635
- Pensioners, their Character 620
- People, in all free Governments there must be an Assembly of them, either by themselves or their Representatives 3, 4. Of their Power 494. Their Voice should be attended to 517
- Perquisites, some Thoughts upon 339
- Persian Tales*, a Story from them apply'd 289
- Pbocion*, his Speech in relation to a Place-Bill 1
- Pine* and *Rocque*, Mess. shew their new Plan of *London* to the Prince of *Wales* 612
- Pintado*, Admiral, remov'd from the Command of the *Ferrol* Squadron 355
- Piso*, L. his Speech in relation to a Vote of Credit

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

- Credit 162. Against the Paragraph in the Address about Heats and Animosities 259. In relation to his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12 472
- Pistol's* threatening Letter to *Common Sense* 137
- Place-Bill, Debate in relation to it 1—20, 53—65. The Reasonableness of it 24 F. Farther Thoughts on it 30. Instructions to Members about it 38, 78, 245, 297, 352, 353, 455, 543. The great Importance of it 39, 40, 488. *Craftsman's* Remarks on the Arguments against it 40 F, 90. Whether this be a proper Time for it 58, &c. The Fate of the Bill in the last Session, and the *Gazetteers* Triumphs upon it 79. Whether such a Bill would alter our Constitution 92. *Lord G—ge's* Speech in favour of it 219. The Necessity of a well regulated one 340 F. Summary of the Objections and Answers in a late Dispute upon it 392. A new Debate upon it 482—489, 513—538. Not intended to exclude all Placemen from Parliament 516. The good Effects of such a Bill 517. A remarkable Contradiction in the Arguments made use of against it 527
- Placemen and Pensioners, Consequences of a Majority of them in both Houses 13, 30 F. Ridiculous to have a Majority of them in the House of Commons 17 D. The late Duke of *Buckingham's* Speech against them 36. Incapacitating them to sit in the House of Commons no Innovation in our Constitution 54. Greater Reason to exclude Placemen than Pensioners, who are already excluded by Law 521, 522. Difference between the Foresight and Feeling of Placemen, and the Foresight and Feeling of the Nation 523. In Parliament they must in many Cases be both Judges and Parties 534, 535. A seasonable Admonition to them 588
- Plantation Trade, of the former Regulations with regard to it 168 A
- Plantations, of the Oppressions of our Governors there 170, 171
- Play-House, a Disturbance there 47, 100
- Plinius Cæcilius, C.* his Speech on his Majesty's Message relating to the Treaty with *Denmark*, and a Vote of Credit 114. His Speech in favour of the Paragraph in the Address, about Heats and Animosities 270. His Proposal concerning a Motion for an Amendment 278. His Speech against the Motion relating to his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12. 461. His Speech giving his Opinion of the Motion 475
- Plunder, Peter,* his Letter to *Common Sense* 280
- Pocket Sheriffs 550
- Political Club, Lists of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, whose Characters the Members of it have assum'd 219, 279, 436, 489, 538. Debates in it. See DEBATES
- Political Physicians 575 F, G. 578
- Pomponius Atticus,* his Speech relating to the Call of the House 575
- Pope, his Death 103. A new one chosen 407
- Porto Bello,* a particular Account of the Taking of it by Vice-Admiral *Vernon* 147, &c. A Description of it, and the Trade that us'd to be carried on there 149. The Address of both Houses on the taking of it, and his Majesty's Answer 150, 151. A farther Account of some remarkable Particulars in the taking of it 175. City Address on the taking of it, with the King's Answer 189. A Plan of it 190. *Spanish* Commandants and Officers that were in it order'd to be prosecuted 199
- Portugal Merchants wait on the Lords of the Admiralty 47
- Posthumus, A.* his Speech against the Paragraph about Heats and Animosities in the Address 217 G
- Pragmatick Sanction takes Place, but is disputed by the Elector of *Bavaria* 563
- Prerogatives of the Crown, under the Cognizance of Parliament 360
- Previous Question, when it is proper 465
- Prices of Grain, Stocks, &c. 50, 102, 154, 250, 302, 354. 406, 458
- Prime Vizir remov'd, and a new one appointed 408. Observations on his Fall 601
- Princes, the Importance of a right Behaviour in them towards the People 227 G
- Printing, the Advantages of it, and of the Liberty of the Press 551
- Printing-Office, its Hierarchy 279
- Privateers seldom attack each other 327 E
- Privateers, *Spanish,* their Boldness and Success 355
- Privateers and private Adventurers. a new Law necessary for impowering them to sail within the Limits of the S. S. Company's Charter 328
- Prize-Office in *Q. Anne's* Reign 311, 315 F, 318. Without an Act of Parliament, the Grievance of it must still remain 327
- Prizes, that our suffering Merchants should be consider'd in them, as well as the Captors 307, 308, 330. Reasons for giving the Whole of them to the Captors 312, 320. Four publick Services, to which, or to one or other of which, the Produce of them ought to be applied 329
- Protections, Order about them 196
- Protestants, their State in the Empire 407
- Prussia,* King of, his Edict against seducing young Girls 103. Our Interest with regard to him 109 F. His Death 297. Proceedings of the new King, with his remarkable Declaration 303. How he address'd himself to his Queen 355. Of his Accession, and the popular Measures he began with 386. Dispute between him and the Bishop of *Liege* 459
- Punch* turn'd Ministerial Writer 444. Observations on his Letter 605

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

Q.
QUAKER's Letter to the *Craftsman* 388 G
 Qualification Act 91, 444
 Quartering Soldiers, &c. 136
Queen's College in Oxford, a Jubilee kept there 403
Quintus, T. his Speech against the Paragraph in the Address, about Heats and Animosities 253. His Speech in favour of the Motion, that the sending his Majesty's Message of Feb. 12. to the H. of Commons singly was derogatory to the Privileges of the H. of Lords 435. His Speech in favour of the Pension Bill 617

R.
READ, Capt. See *Sea-Horse*
 Re-election Act 91 D
 Religion, its first Principles necessary to the Preservation of Liberty 118
 Revenue, publick, State of it before and after the Restoration 163. State of it since the Revolution 164
 Revolution, our unhappy Neglect at that Time 14, 15. The only effectual Securities for our civil Rights we obtain'd afterwards 15
 Reward of 5l. in the Reign of *Q. Anne*, for every Man on board a Ship taken from the Enemy 313 C
 Rice in *Carolina*, Case of it 172 F
Richard II. a remarkable Answer of his Parliament to a Message about Supplies, and their Act concerning Taxes 588 A
Richardson, Mr. his Letter concerning the taking of *Puerto Bello* 175
Robinson, Sir Thomas, a magnificent Ball at his House, and who were present at it 189
 Roman People would not assist in the Wars till their Grievances were redress'd 23
 Roman Tribunes, and the Speech of one to the Senate 29, 30
 Romans, Corruption pav'd the Way to Slavery among them 61
Rose Man of War takes a *Spanish* Privateer 558. Extract of a Letter from on board it 611
Russia, an Account of the great Conspiracy there 51, 103. The *French* Ambassador's Reception there 51. Other Accounts from thence 155, 303. See *Courland* and *Czarinna*

S.
SALARIES and Perquisites, *Bob Short's* Hint about them 183
Saxe-Gotha, Duchess of, her Death 507
Scotland, Struggles about the Election of Magistrates there 456
Sea-Horse, Copy of a Letter from her Commander, giving an Account of his being taken by the *Spaniards*, and their Cruelty to him and his Crew 300
 Seamen, Proclamation for encouraging them 100. Observations on a Bill for registering them, &c. 138. *Lord G-ge's* Speech

against it 221. Debate on the Question, whether a Bill ought to be brought in for encouraging them to enter into his Majesty's Service 305—330, 357—369. Their Hardships and Discouragements 365. Case of the Bill for registering them 490
 Secession, the late, condemn'd 571, 572, 575. Justified 568, 569, 574, 577. Acts pass'd in that Interval 576
Seckendorff, Count, his Affair determin'd 51
Sempronius Atratinus, A. his Speech against the Place-Bill 484
 Septennial Act 91 E. See *Triennial*
 A *Serious Exhortation to the Electors of Great Britain*, &c. Abstract of that Pamphlet 330—335
Servilius Priscus, his Speech against the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 306. His Speech against the Place-Bill 517
 Sessions at the *Old Bailey* 47, 147, 196, 247, 350, 456, 507, 612. Numbers condemn'd there and order'd for Transportation, this Year and the last 507
Seville, Treaty of, and the Consequences of it 255
Shaftsbury, Lord, a fine Passage from his *Characteristicks* 587
 Sheriffs, how they were antiently appointed 549 G. The Nature of their Office *ibid.* 550. Of the present Method of appointing them 550. Pocket Sheriffs *ibid.*
 Sheriffs for the Counties appointed 613
 Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex* chosen 299.
 Sworn in 457
Sicilian King, the Answer to his Minister's Letter about a Treaty of Neutrality 247.
 Trade encourag'd in his Dominions 251
Sidney, Mr. tried for using false Dice 350
 Sinking Fund 395
 Slight often worse than an Injury 474
 Society, the Ends of 1, 2
 Soldier shot for Desertion 147
Somersetshire Instructions 455
 Son, the Complaint of one 87
Spain, King of, of his resigning and afterwards resuming the Crown 573, 578
Spain, Queen Dowager of, her Death 355
Spanberg, Capt. his Discoveries 155
Spaniards, Story of a Wag, how we surpris'd them 69 F. Uncertain Accounts from abroad of their Preparations and Successes, as also of their Misfortunes 103. A Remittance made to them, and their Orders relating to Privateers, and Edict for the more strict Prohibition of Commerce with *Great Britain* 155. Of stealing a War upon them 160. On what only their Hopes are founded 167, 207 C. To what their Obstinacy ought to be imputed 206 F. What encourag'd them to treat us as they have done 261 C. They are in Want of Money 303. Their great Number of Privateers *ibid.* How we might annoy them even in *Europe* 419 D
Spanish

INDEX to the ESSAYS, &c.

Spanish Register Ship, &c. arrives 199
Spanish Ships taken by the *English* 196, 197, 248, 251, 297, 299, 403, 558
Speech said to be deliver'd on presenting the Money-Bills 223
Spittlefields Rioters tried 47
Stair, Lord, his *Speech* at *Wigton* 509
Stamford. See *Instructions*
State of the Rise and Progress, &c. Common Sense's Postscript concerning it 31. Extracts from it 184
State Elixir, the admirable one 179
Steel, Sir Richard, his *Letter* to the Lord Treasurer *Oxford* 286
Stephens, Mrs. receives the 5000*l.* Reward for the Discovery of her Medicines for the Stone 150
Stonebenge, Abstract of Dr. *Stukeley's* Account of it 20
Storms, remarkable ones 557, 611, 613
Stowe, the Seat of the Rt. Hon. the Lord *Cobham,* Characters of the Worthies there 335
Strafford, Lord, the Use he propos'd to make of military Men in Parliament 25 G
Sugar-baking Trade 169, 173
Sugar Colonies, Debate on the Bill relating to them 168—175
Sugar Trade, to what the Decay of it is owing 170 B. The *French* now our Rivals in it 171 D
Sulpicius, C. his *Speech* in favour of the Place-Bill 515
Sulpicius, the Roman Consul, a *Speech* of his paraphras'd 67, &c.
Supplies, of the Right of granting them, and Disputes about it 479
Sweden, State of the two Parties there 105 B. The *French* Party prevails there 106. Treaty between *Sweden* and the *Turks* 355. Compliments between *Sweden* and the *Russians* 407. The general Diet convok'd there 460
Swedes, how they lost their Liberties 33 G, 34
Swift, Dr. his Birth-Day celebrated 611
T.
TAXES and Excises 394
Terence, a fine Passage from him 87 C
Tinkering the Constitution 91 G
Teulon and Brest Squadrons sail 455, 459. See *Brest*
Townshend-Packet taken by the *Spaniards* 351
Trade, several Things propos'd for promoting it 497
Trefilian, Sir Robert, hang'd in *Richard II's* Time, and for what 550 C
Trials 47, 101, 191, 193, 195, 247, 350, 568, 558, 612
Triarius, C. his *Speech* relating to the Call of the House 571
Triennial Act, of its Repeal 495. Arguments that were made use of against the Repeal of it 540
True Instructions 543

Tullius Cicero, M. his *Speech* against the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen, &c. 328. His *Speech* against raising the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 425. His *Speech* against the Place-Bill 528
Turkish Ambassador makes a great many Difficulties about the Ceremonial of his publick Entry at *Vienna* 407. Account of his Entry 459
Turkish Government 344
Twenty-Gun Ships put in Commission 189, 196

V.

VALERIUS *Corvus, M.* his *Speech* in favour of the Bill relating to the Sugar Colonies 171. In favour of the Bill for encouraging Seamen 325
Valerius Flaccus, L. his *Speech* against raising the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 374. His *Speech* against the Place-Bill 513
Venality and Corruption, how they may be propagated 537, 538. The Venality of many of our little Boroughs 538
Vernon, Admiral, takes *Porto Bello* 147, &c. 175. Made free of the City of *London* 151. Remarks on the Success of his Majesty's Arms under his Command 177. List of Ships under him 197. Queries relating to him 226. The News of his Success differently receiv'd 228. Advice from him 248. A Passage in *Homer* apply'd to him 291. The *Gazetteer's* Treatment of him *ibid.* He bombards *Cartagena* 299. Takes *Chagre* 341. His Birth-Day celebrated 558
Vernin Privateer takes a *Dutch Ship* laden with Ammunition for the *Spaniards* 611
Versailles, Tumult of the Bakers, &c. there 459
Viagualling-Office, Advertisement from it, concerning two Paragraphs in the *Craftsman* 85
Vienna, Number of Burials and Christnings there 43
Vote of Credit, Debate on his Majesty's Message relating to it 105—118, 157—168. Such Votes are of modern Date 112. Why no such Messages before the Revolution 115 A, 116

W.

WALES, Prince of, his Birth-Day celebrated 47. A Letter occasioned by his entertaining himself with the Masque of *King Alfred* 393. Account of that Entertainment 403
Walsundun, Madam Amelia Sophia, naturaliz'd 100. Created Countess of *Yarmouth* 153
War, Considerations relating to the present 80. Who ought to be the Directors of it 205. To what it ought to be imputed 206
F. The true Method of shortening it 208. Some

INDEX to the POETRY.

Some Thoughts on it 342, 343. The Importance of bringing it to a speedy Conclusion, for which a vigorous Prosecution of it is necessary 363. Two Things chiefly to be regarded in the Prosecution of it 370. The Circumstances of it very different from those of the War in *Q. Anne's* Reign 375. *M. Cato's* Opinion of our Conduct at the Beginning and in the Progress of it 418. Frugality necessary at the Beginning of a War 420, 421. Of our Management in the present War 499, 585
Ways and Means to man the Navy, &c. Abstract of that Pamphlet 134
 Wife, the Complaint of one 86
Wigtown, Lord *Stair's* Speech there 509
William, King, his Sentiments about attacking the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies* 208 His Example urged for mentioning Heats and Animosities in a Speech from the Throne 213. Answer'd, from the present Circumstances being very different from his 218

Winter. See Frost
Wolinski, M. Minister of State in *Russia*, executed 355. Observations on his Fall 602
Wool, *Spanish*, Project for the King of *Spain's* monopolizing it 251
 Worthies at *Stowe*. See *Stowe*.
Wyndham, the late Sir *William*, the *Craftsman's* Remarks on a Paragraph in the *Gazetteer* relating to him 336 G

Y.

YEARLY Bill of Mortality 613
York-Buildings Company, Decree in favour of their Creditors 508
 Young Couple, the remarkable Stories of two 231
 Young Lords, the Advantages of a Spirit of Virtue and Liberty in them 466, 467, 474
 Young Men, of their marrying old Women 338

Z.

ZEAL for Forms and Ceremonies, pre-judicial to true Religion 120

INDEX to the POETRY, 1740.

A.

ADDISON, Mr. a Poem found among his Papers 292
 Alamode Ænigmatical Looking-Glass for pretty Master — at Bath 93
Almira, Verses to her 45
Ad Amicum 145
Archimedes's Globe 502
Anne, Mrs. on hearing her perform in the Character of *Rosalinda* 188
Astrop-Wells, Verses written extempore at them 453

B.

BADGERINA 401
Bally-Spelling, by D—n S—t 300. Answer to it 554
Baptizatio Rustica 553
Beard, Mr. on hearing him sing in *David's* Lamentation 188
 Beauty and Innocence 239
Berkeley, Dean, Epigram on him 397
Boetius, an Ode on reading Lord *Preston's* Translation of him 295
Britons and *Spaniards*, a Latin Ode on 43
Buckingham, late Duke of, on his Tomb and Image 99

C.

IN Carbonarium quendam Edinburgensem, qui sub specie carbonum gelu vendidit 239
 Charity, or the Munificence of Persons of the highest Distinction during the rigorous Season 96
 To *Chloe*, from *Catullus* 239
 To *Chloe*, who quoted *Salus Populi, &c.* 502
 City Mouse and Country Mouse, a Fable 607
 Complaint of a Father 346

Conolly, Hon. Mrs. Verses on her 142
 The Consolation 606
Cosmelia, Verses to her 398
 Country, on the Pleasures of 451
 Country Gentleman 42
 Country Parson to a Country Squire 296
 Country Walk, attempted in Rhyme, from *Milton* 505

D.

DAVID's Lamentation over *Saul* and *Jonathan*, paraphras'd 141
 Declaration of War, Verses on it 45
 The Dedication 607
Devereux, Hon. *Pryce*, Esq; Epithalamium on his Marriage 399
Deut. xxxii. 1—6, paraphras'd 294
Dialogus inter Christianum & Jesuitam 142
 Distress'd Chaplain, a Fable 96
 Diversions of *Denby's*, a new Ballad 552
 Divine Beauty 295
 Dog's Collar, Verses engrav'd on it 452
 The Dream 146. Another 610
 The Duck and the Bulrush 555

E.

EDINBURGH Beauty, on an antiquated one 501
 Emmets, a Fable 144
 Enamour'd Scholar 141
 Enigma 235. Solution 296. Another Solution 346. Another Enigma 454. Solutions 556
 Epigram, with its Answer 296
 Epigram from *Martial*, English'd 348
 Epigram on Dean *Berkeley* 397
 Epigram on the Pope's Election ibid.
 Epigram by *W. B.* 399
 Epistle

INDEX to the POETRY.

Epistle from a Country Parson to a Country Squire	296
Epistle to <i>Myrtillo</i>	345
Epistolary Ode, written in the late Frost	235
Epithalamium	504
Epithalamium on the Marriage of the Hon. <i>Pryce Dewereux</i> , Esq;	399
Essay on <i>Man</i> , to the Author of it 42. On seeing some Lines from it; beautifully transcrib'd by an eminent Writing Master	608
<i>Eve's</i> Fondness to <i>Adam</i>	346
Evening, a Description of	235
<i>Exodus</i> , Part of the 19th Chapter paraphras'd	238

F.

FABLE from <i>Common Sense</i>	146
Fan, Verses wrote upon one that was thought to be Miss <i>W—'s</i>	95
Fatal Request	146
Father. See Complaint	
To <i>Favonius</i> , an Ode	295
<i>Festum Lustrale</i> , sive <i>Baptizatio Rustica</i>	553
<i>Fidelia</i> and <i>Constance</i>	146
<i>Florella</i> , Canticum, Latine redditum	453
Fly painted on Spectacles	502
Fortune, a Petition to her, by an Adventurer in the Bridge-Lottery	610
To a Friend	348, 400, 501, 504, 556
On Friendship	187

G.

GIBBONS, Mr. Thomas, Imitation of an Ode of <i>Horace</i> address'd to him	348
<i>Gippo's</i> Catastrophe	398
Gnat burnt in a Candle	46
A Good Man's a King	348
<i>Griffin</i> , Mr. to his Memory	141
<i>Gunn</i> , Mr. Verses to him, on his late musical Entertainments at <i>Birmingham</i>	608

H.

HAPPY Man, an Ode	505
<i>Hastings</i> , Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> , Extract from the Verses on her	451
<i>Horace</i> , several of his Odes imitated	43, 46, 98, 99, 235, 236, 238, 296, 348, 501
<i>Hofier's</i> Ghost 294. <i>Vernon's</i> Answer to it	352
Hymn to the divine Being 45. On divine Love 145. In a Spring Morning	236

I.

IMPORTANT Memento	236
Italian Sonnet English'd 555. The Original	556
<i>Juggins</i> , or the accomplish'd Cook	606

L.

LADY, to a young one, occasion'd by seeing her Picture 44. On a young Lady's Recovery from Sickness 99. To a Lady who said her Heart was Steel 141. To a Painter who lately drew a very beautiful Lady's Picture 349. Upon a Lady's painting a <i>Cupid</i> ibid. To a young Lady, who ask'd what there could be in her to excite Desire 454. To a young Lady inculcating 502. To a young Lady on a Patch	
---	--

she wore 505. On a Lady who f-rted at Church	555
<i>Laureat's Sermo pedestris</i> , Verses on it	397
Lawyer and his Client	238
Lions whelp'd in the Tower, Verses on	301
Love, Verses on it	145
Love, Art to be happy in it	292
Love, Temple of	349
Love and Anger	454, 501
Love and War, an Ode	145

M.

MAJESTY of God, from the <i>Psalms</i>	
Maw-Wallopp	45
<i>Milton's</i> Address to <i>Light</i> , attempted in <i>Latin</i> Verse	347
<i>M—l</i> , Miss <i>Polly</i> , on her singing	607
<i>Molly Mogg</i> transvers'd	610
Morning, Description of it, on the Arrival of the Spring	143
Morning Star, a Rhapsody, occasion'd by the glorious Beginning of the War	185
Music, Verses on it	96
<i>Myrtillo</i> , Epistle to	345

N.

NEÆRA, to her, on her Breach of Promise	46
Nightingale, Verses on it	93
Nightingale and Owls, a Fable	95
Nightingales and Thrushes kill'd by the late severe Winter	346
Noble Actions, that they are the most lasting Monument	556

O.

ORPHEUS and <i>Eurydice</i> , or the unfashionable Husband	452
--	-----

P.

PAINTER, to one who lately drew a very beautiful Lady's Picture	349
<i>Pake</i> , Miss, Epistle inscrib'd to her	398
To the Paragon, my dear <i>Chloe</i> , &c.	239
Pastoral of the East, and that of the West, a Comparison between them, in two Parts	450
<i>P—rs</i> , Captain, Song on him, by <i>Sylvia</i>	453
The Answer	501
A Pertinent Word to an impertinent Author	397
<i>Phebe</i> singing	556
Poet's Apology	143
Poets, an Address to them on the late Marriage	397
Pope, on his Election	397
<i>Porto Bello</i> , on the Taking of it, a Song	187
Prologue to a Play, shortly intended for the Press	239
<i>Psalms</i> I. paraphras'd	238

R.

A D <i>Rufum</i> , de lepore quem ab illo dono missus <i>Corinna</i> renuit 98. The same in English ibid	
Ruins of Rome, Extract from that Poem	188
Rural Pleasures, to a Friend inviting him to them	501
	8.

INDEX of NAMES.

S.
SEPHALISSA sleeping 44
 Silence in Love, written by a young Lady 505
 S—, Sir H—, on the much lamented Death of his Norway Owl 92. The same in Latin *ibid*
 Sinnerville, William, Esq; two Poems by him 42
 Songs, viz. Wit and Beauty 44. Love 98. To Sylvia 99. Molly Mogg transvers'd 143. On the Taking of Porto Bello 187. Admiral Hosier's Ghost 294. Vernon's Answer to it 352. On Capt. P—rs 453. The Answer 501. The political Tweed-Side 503. The Diversions of Denby's 552
 Soul, Verses occasion'd by the Denial of its future Existence 505
 Spanish Rodomontado 400
 The Spiders, a Fable 180
 Spring, to a Friend on it 93
 Spring Morning, a Hymn 236
 Sylvia, to her, on her grieving for some Alteration in her Face 99. In Answer to her Verses on Capt. P—rs 501
T.
TALBOT, Miss, on a certain Lawyer's conversing with her at Bath 504

Temple of Love 349
 Terence's Self-Tormenter, on reading an Observation on it 46
 T—s, Miss, Verses to her 502
 Truth, Verses on it 400
 Tuscany, late Duke of, Pastoral Song on his Death 454
 Tweed-Side, political 503

V.
VERNON, Admiral, Verses on him 186. His Answer to Hosier's Ghost 352. On his Birth-Day 554. On his taking Porto-Bello 609
 Virgil's first Eclogue newly attempted in English 396
 Unfashionable Husband 452

W.
WATCH, Verses on it 146
 The Will 99, 295
 Wit and Beauty, a Song 44
 Wit and Constancy, or the Art to be happy in Love 292

X.
XANTIPPE rediviva 452. The same in English *ibid*

Y.
YARD, Mr. the Taylor, just 3 Foot high 397

INDEX of NAMES to the MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, DEATHS, PROMOTIONS, &c. 1740.

A.		B.				C.	
ABBOT	153	BAIRD	457	Bernard	153	Bucks	249
Abney	562	Baker	353, 354, 405	Bertie	458, 562	Budgen	301
Acherly	198	Bankrupts	50, 153, 154, 250, 302, 354, 406, 458, 510, 562, 614	Best	457	Burchett	153, 301
Ackland	301	Barcham	561	Bethune	48	Burgoyne	457
A'Court	510	Barker	457, 510, 561	Bigg	405	Bute	406
Adderley	509	Barnard	509	Bignall	301	Butler	249
Aileford	301	Barnes	354	Bindon	249	Burts	197
Aldred	457	Barrington	457	Binham	457	Byng	509
Allen	458, 562	Barry	48	Bishop	301		
Alveris	457	Basket	49	Blackwell	<i>ibid.</i>	CÆSAR	561
Ambrose	458	Bateman	198, 301	Blondeau	353	Calvert	457
Amer	49	Barson	510	Bolton	250	Cambis	101
Amyand	353	Bayly	561	Bond	102	Carmichael	198
Annesley	249	Baynes	509	Booth	614	Carr	49, 458
Anthony	561	Beauclerk	48, 153, 198, 301	Bootle	198	Carter	198
Antrim	48	Bedford	102, 614	Bosworth	613	Castlehaven	561
Arnold	100	Belcher	48	Bowmont	197	Caswall	614
Arundel	197	Belk	449	Boyle	613, 614	Cathcart	102
Ashley	405, 561	Bell	406, 509	Breton	153	Cavendish	562
Astell	197	Bendish	249	Bridcoake	510	Cecil	249
Astley	248	Bennet	48	Bridges	102, 153, 249, 353	Chamberlaine	614
Atkins	509	Bentley	101	Brite	302	Chambers	249
Auchmuty	302			Brook	250	Chapple	248
Audley	561			Brooker	509	Cheek	509
Aylmer	<i>ibid.</i>			Broughton	49, 197	Chichester	198, 249, 613
Aynscombe	509			Browne	613	Child	198
				Browning	614	Cholmondeley	562
						Chowne	

INDEX of NAMES.

Chowne	561	Eaton	302	Greenville	197	Jones	198
Church	49, 198	Eden	457	Grey	457	Juxon	102
Clanrickard	353	Edwards	101, 510	Griffin	102	K.	
Clarke	50, 249, 457	Elkings	614	Grimstead	614	KAYE	405
Clarkson	198	Elderton	457	Grosvenor	405	Kelly	405
Clifton	301	Elphin	198, 249	Guy Dickens	406	Kendall	153
Clinton	458	Elwill	101	H,		Kennet	249
Clive	48	Elwood	249	HALL	101, 509	Kent	301
Comarque	49	Erskine	614	Hallam	301	Kerr	197, 354
Comyns	249, 561	Effington	510	Hamilton	405, 561	Killaloe	102
Congreve	248	Este	354	Hammond	249	Kincardine	197
Cook	561	Evans	101	Hare	198	King	153, 197, 198
Cookes	457	Eyles	ibid.	Hargrave	48	Knight	614
Coombes	613	Eyles Styles	153	Harper	249	Knightly	613
Cooper	198	Eyre	153, 406	Harpur	353	Know'er	249
Coote	510	F.		Harris	153, 249, 457, 458	Kynaston	102, 301
Coppleston	198	FAGG	457	Harrison	405	L.	
Corbett	101, 509	Farmer	301	Hartley	614	LACEY	458
Cornwallis	102, 249	Faukenberg	353	Harvey	613	Lade	405
Cotterell	302, 458	Felton	197	Hastings	249	Lamb	248
Cowlshaw	405	Fenwick	562	Hatton	353	Lambert	509
Cowper	102	Fielding	353	Hawley	49, 250	Lamond	509
Coxeter	406	Finch	49	Hay	354, 405	Landaff	242
Cracherode	49	Fisher	153	Herbert	48, 153, 197, 198, 613	Langley	153
Crane	613	Fleming	48, 197	Heron	509	Lawton	301
Crawford	354	Floyd	509	Hertford	614	Lee	405, 509, 613
Crawley	301	Foley	197	Hervey	198	Leeds	301
Crew	ibid.	Fonnereau	198	Hewer	49	Legg	49, 301, 613
Crispe	353	Forester	197, 458	Hilderford	458	Leigh	561
Crosby	198	Fowler	302	Hill	248, 249	Leighlin and Ferns	249
Culpeper	197	Fownes	48	Hoadley	458	Lestock	406
Cumberland	198	Francis	561	Hoare	196	Lever	614
Cunningham	198, 405	Frank	613	Hobart	102	Levett	561
D.		Frankland	153, 354	Hodges	613	Liddell	301, 510
D Alrample	614	Frederick	406	Hoghton	101	Limbury	249
D'Anvers	49	Freebairn	49	Holbourn	49	Limeburner	354
Davenport	249	Freeman	153, 249	Holden	301	Lloyd	301, 405, 510
Davies	153	Fremoult	49	Holdernefs	614	Long	197
Davis	198, 405	Frogmore	ibid.	Honywood	250, 561	Longueville	49, 50
Dawney	249, 405	Fyde	101	Hopton	198	Lonsdale	250
De Costa	102	Fyfe	301	Horfenail	457	Lucas	510
Delorain	101	Fytch	405	Howard	198	Lucy	301
Dennis	153	G.		Hucks	613	Luffington	301
Dennison	458	Airborough	301	Hughes	613	Lumbarr	614
Denton	153	Ganning	561	Hunter	354	Lund	249
Devenish	249	Garciner	49, 510	Hussey	510	Lyde	457
Devereux	405	Garth	405	Hutchinson	153, 249, 405	Lyell	249
Dickens	406	Geddes	406	Hyde	153	M.	
Dingley	48	Gibbs	153	Hyndford	250	MACHEN	614
Ditton	458	Gibert	249, 561	J.		Mackenzie	561
Dives	457	Gildart	458	JACOB	197	Makepeace	406
Dixie	153	Glasgow	301	James	353	Maltus	102
Donerayle	48, 49	Godfrey	405	Jeffcys	613	Manchester	353
Dopping	561	Godolphin	198	Jennings	509	Manlove	561
Dormer	250	Gonfon	153	Jersey	250	Mann	250
Downes	354, 405	Gooftry	614	Joddrell	613	Mansell	561
Downing	198, 458	Gordon	198	Johnson	509	Marchmont	153
Drake	49	Gosling	301	Jolliffe	406	Marlborough	197, 250
Du Bois	510	Gould	406, 614			Marley	561
Dudley and Ward	249	Gowell	457			Marriot	198
Dyfar	198, 509	Gower	353			Marth	48
E.		Græme	197			Martin	438
EARBERY	509	Green	353			Mason	509
Earle	562, 614					Massey	354

INDEX of NAMES.

Mawson	249	Pierce	561	Smart	457	Vandermeer	301
Maynard	249	Pinkney	614	Smelt	301	Vawdrey	509
Meadows	153	Pleydell	48	Smith	102, 198, 301, 406	Venables Vernon	102
Meerkerk	301	Plumptree	102	Smithson	353, 457	Ventris	301
Members, new ones	50, 102, 153, 198, 245, 562, 614	Pottinger	197	Smyth	301, 614	Vernon	510
Mills	249	Powys	561	Snelling	49	Villiers	49
Monk	457	Poyntz	613	Somerville	353	Vincent	353
Montagu	250	Price	197	Speed	49	Unwin	405
Moor	353	Primrose	249	Speke	198	W.	
Mordaunt	562	Probyn	562	Spillet	198	WADE	301
Morgan Bray	198	Puleyn	48	Springal	153	Wager Purvis	
Morley Trevor	153	Putland	405	Stamford	457	Wake Jones	153
Morres	510	R.		Stanhope	509	Wale	353
Morrice	614	RAMSEY	510	Stanley	405, 561	Walker Ward	302
Morris	198, 614	Rawlinson	405	Sanyford	198	Wallingford	301
Moses	101	Reeves	198, 561	Stapleton	49	Wallop	353
Mostyn	197	Reynell	510	Stapylton	561	Walmodun	153
Moyle	249	Reynolds	198	Steers	153	Walpole	249
Mure	614	Rich	250	Stephens	48	Walters	509
Murray	248, 562	Richards	249	Stirling	302	Walton	49
N.		Richardson	301	Stokes	561	Warcope	509
N Aisborough	614	Rick	614	Stone	249, 562	Warren	353
N Nassaw Pawlett		Ridding	562, 613	Stonehouse	353	Warrington	198
	101	Robinson	198, 301, 614	Story	102	Warwick	301
Naylor	510	Rogers	250	Strange	250	Waterford	249, 354
Negus	561	Rooke	561	Strickland	302, 353	Waterland	614
Nevil	561	Roundtree	353	Sturges	510	Watson	48
Newark	153	Rudge	153	Syng	249	Watts	153
Newton	509	Ruth	101	T.		Way	457
Nichols	458	Rutter	458	TALBOT	49, 102, 198	Webster	406
Nicolls	354	Rycut	458	Tanner	101	Wentworth	353
Norris	197	Ryder	250	Tarver	198	Westcombe	561
North	613, 614	S.		Taylor	249, 406	Westmorland	49
North and Guildford		Sackville	458	Temple	405	Whetham	250
	101	Saint Aubyn	353	Thomas	301, 406	Whitaker	153
Nowel	198	Salmon	153	Thompson	406	Whitmore	48
O.		Salter	250	Thomson	561	Wilbraham	101
O Brian	405	Sambroke	353	Thorpe	406	Wilkinson	249
O Ockham	153	Savage	561	Tidcombe	249	Wilke	457
O Farrell	614	Sayer	197, 561	Tilly	458	Williams	49, 102, 153, 354, 406, 510
Ogle	197, 562	Scarborough	101	Tindal	49, 561	Wills	614
Onslow	301, 562	Scawen	405	Tinker	153	Wilson	49, 354, 458
Orlton	562	Scott	198	Tottenham	102	Winchelsea and Not-	
Orrery	561	Searle	457	Townshend	406	tingham	613
Osborn	406, 458	Seeres	561	Trebeck	198	Windfor	561
Osgood	561	Seward	510	Treby	510	Winsmore	153
P.		Seymour	457	Trefus	48	Wolfe ey	457
PALMER	561	Shannon	614	Trelawney	353	Woodward	353
Pane	49	Shard	48	Trench	153	Worley	153
Parker	102, 198	Sharp	353	Trevanion	406	Worth	405
Parkyns	457	Shaw	562	Trevor	49, 101, 458	Wright	101, 102, 562
Parsons	48	Shelbourn	561	Tucker	458, 614	Wylde	198
Pawlett	354, 562	Sheriffs appointed	50, 102, 613	Turner	49	Wyndham	301
Pembroke	197, 249	Sibthorp	457	Tynte	405	Wynn	457
Pinkett	249	Simpson	101, 562	V.		Wyville	249, 457
Pennie	49	Singleton	302	V Anacker	Sam-	Y.	
Perrin	249	Skinner	509	broke	353	Y Armouth	153
Perrot	101	Smallbroke	249	Vanbrugh	561	Y Yrke	249
Pett	354	Smallwood	302	Vanderlint	102		
Philpot	510						

INDEX

INDEX to the Books, 1740.

CLASSICAL, PHILOLOGICAL, &c.	Laugh upon Laugh	200	History of Guild-Hall	304	Confirmation, what	104
	Liberty regain'd	252	the Heavens	156	Defence congratulat. Letter	
Antiquitates Linguae	A-Libros di Fortuna	616	Jamaica	304		200
rabicae	52 Lusus Westmonasteriensis	512	Kouli-Kan	252	Duty of Man	408
Art of Musick	156	512	Peter I.	460	Dissertation on Du Halde	252
Baily's Ovid's Tristia	460	304	Pope Joan	408		
Banyer's Mythology	252	356	Prayer	ibid.	Directions for young Stu-	
Bentley's Horace	ibid.	104	Saxony	512	dents	52
Bowles on the Lat. Tongue Muff	104	200	James's Voyage	408	Divisions of Dissenters	564
	Mum	564	Life of Acofta	156	Dodson's Tables	304
Conference on Painting	564	616	Bacon	252	Don John display'd	564
English Dict. J. K.	156	512	Cibber	200	Drew's Trial	252
Fletcher's Arithm.	252	52	Drew	ibid.	Duties of a Sovereign	ibid.
French Rudiments	156	104	Gaveston	564	Essay on the Apocryp.	156
Greenwood's Gram.	304	52	Roger Johnson	460	Experimental Fowler	ibid.
Horatii Opera	564	156	Gilb. Langley	ibid.	Family Magazine	512
Horace's Odes	104	200	Luther and Calvin	Farriery improv'd		200
Lysiae Orationes	512	ibid.		52	Foundlings Charter	408
Maximus Tyrius	564	52	Prince Edward	252	French King's Ordinance	
Musical Dictionary	252	564, 616	Turenne	156		104
New General Dict.	156	200	Lives of the Gresham Pro-	Gardener's Dict. Vol. II.		356
Spanish Dictionary	104	512	fellors	616		156
Sproston's Spelling	304	104, 512	Memoirs of O. Cromwell	Gibbs's Defence		304
Stirling's Pantheon	156	200		200	Gonson's Charges	616
— Rhetorick	460	ibid.	Hesse-Cassel	ib.	Greenwood's Case	408
— Virgil	616	116	Milton	ibid.	Narrative	ibid.
ENTERTAINMENT, ROSALINDA		ibid.	Ripperda	356	Trial	ibid.
PLAYS and POETRY.	Ruins of Rome	ibid.	Rozelli	ibid.	Grove's Posthumous Works	616
ÆSOP's Fables	52	52	Memorials and Characters			512
Alfred	408	200	Guide to Travellers	252		
Alfred and Isabel	200	252	Military Hist. of Charles	Harmony without Uni-		156
Antiochus	ibid.	52	XII.	ibid.	formity	564
Arminius	104	460	New Roman History	408	Hayes's Book-keeping	304
Art of breeding Bees	512	200	Norrh's Examen	616	Hewit on Monies	356
Ballad on Porto Bello	200	512	Revolu. of Portugal	156	Jewish Spy	564
Bandello's Novels	560	616	Rollin's History	200	Immoral Philosopher	156
Barber's Works	512	512	Scotch Compendium	616	Imposture of Methodism	460
Bench	ibid.	252	Spanish Armada	200	Journey to the Moon	616
British Admiral	408	564	Coasts	304	Keith's Tracts	616
Britannia & Batavia	304	ibid.	Stukeley's Stonehenge	200	Laureat	104
Canterbury Tales	200	ibid.	Survey of Down	304	Letters concerning Coin	252
Cheshire Huntress	156	460	Verrot's Rom. Revo.	564		564
Chinese Tales	104	564	Uncertainty of Rom. Hist.	Letter to Bate		564
City Struggle	512	304	tory	52	Coad	200
Cook's Hesiod	252	356	Universal History	356	a Friend	200
Countess of Corbon	616	564	Whitefield's new Journal	616	a Gentleman	356
David's Lamentation	200				Dr. Trapp	200
Deity	104				Wesley	304
Description of Merryland	564				Whitefield	304
	564					252
Don Blase	408					200
Dove-Cote	156					564
Elmerick	ibid.					252
Epistle from Ed. Lovel	564					304
— to Pope	200					512
Essay on Physick	52					304
	564					356
	ibid.					356
Fortunate Country	260					356
	356					356
Ghost and Miller	304					356
Gotham Election	252					356
Hardyknote	104					356
Hobbins	52					356
Horace's Instructions	512					356
— Imitated	200					356
— Sixth Epistle	512					356
In Lawden Version	304					356
Juvenal Imitated	304					356

INDEX to the BOOKS.

Provision for the Poor	408	Simson's Essays	616	State of the Colonies	156	Norwich (Bp. of) on the	52
Quakero-Methodism	52	Thompson's Anatomy	104	Vernon's Glory	616	Fast	52
Quakers defended	304	—— on the Gout	ibid.	Uncorrupted Parliam.	252	Parker at Durham	52
Quakers and Methodists	ibid.	Tilbury Water	52	War against France	512	fizes	564
compar'd	ibid.	Turner's Syphilis	460	Webster's Life of Haman	Partington on Aug. 1.	408	
Rat-catcher of Chelsea	408	Ward's Mathematicks	ibid.		616	—— the Fast	52
Reply to Bowman	616	Warren of Fevers	564	What of that?	564	Pearfal's Fun. Sermon.	304
Sailors Companion	356	Wintringham's An. Struc-	ture	What Things?	616	Pitts at Chelmsford	200
Scotch Presbyterian Elo-	408	quence	460	Williams's Reports	356	Sermon on the Frost	1684
quence	460	LAW, POLITICAL, Yes they are	564		564	——	100
Seward's Journal	356	TRADE.		SERMONS.		—— Eternal Misery	104
Spirit of the Martyrs	52	A Dvocate's Place-Bill	52	ARNOLD on the Fast	104	Shakespear at Lancaster	512
—— Methodism	304	A American Trade	ibid.	Asaph (Bp. of) Correspond.	512	Affizes	512
Supplem. to London Brewer	200	Anti-Machiavel	616	Societies	252	Smith's Sermons	460
Table of Affairs	512	Appeal to the Publick	104	Bangor (Bp. of) on Jan. 30.	104	—— at Charles Town	564
—— Officers Pay	ibid.	Cases in Chancery	104	ibid. Barton on the Fast	52	Smyth on the Fast	104
Temple's Works	252	Clerk's Instructor	ibid.	Bateman, Sons of the Clergy	304	Snashall on Nov. 11.	52
Three Dissertations	616	Conduct of the Duke of	252	Bedford, at Lady Moyer's	200	Speeke on Jan. 30.	156
Trial of Mrs. Branch	304	Argyle	356	Lectures	512	Trebeck at St. George's	104
—— Cibber	356	Continuing the Parl.	200	Blair's Sermons	252	Trevanian at Exeter	512
Turenne's Maxims	200	Cromwell's Manifesto	616	Bristol (Bp. of) at St. Brides	252	Whalley on Jan. 30.	104
Turnbull's Moral Philo-	104	sophy	104	Disputes with Spain	ibid.	Whitefield's 3 Sermons.	304
—— Universal Law Essay on Trade	616	European Race	104	Brown, at Hertford	460	Wright on New-year's Day	104
Verney Oratio	512	Exhortation to Electors	356	Collet at St. Paul's	512	Zinzendorf's Disc.	200
Vindication of the Quakers	52	Faction displayed	564	Collier on the Fast	460	THEOLOGICAL.	
—— French Influence	52	Revenues	616	Copping at a Visitation	460	A Bernethy's Disc.	356
Universal Pocket Book	200	General Remonstrance	512	Cradoock on Provid.	ibid.	A Arch-deacon's Exa-	460
Warburton's Letters	304	G. Britain's Complaint	564	—— at Eaton	512	mination	460
Welch Charity	52	Memorial	616	Crowe, Trustees of Geor-	252	Barnes's Treatises	52
Whitefield's Letter	408	Mistakes	156	gia	252	Call to Humiliation	ibid.
World display'd	156	Supplement to David's (Bp. of)	512	Children	512	Chubb's Inquiry	156
—— in Miniature	252	it	252	Denne at St. Bride's	616	Doctrine of Orig. Sin	304
Young Sportsman	156	Great Man's Answer	616	—— on the Fast	104	Durham (Bishop of) his	460
PHILOSOPHY, PHY-		Have at you	ibid.	Dinsdale on Charity	408	Ely (Bp. of) his Charge	564
SICK, &c.		His Majesty's Journey	304	Felton at Lady Moyer's	356	Essay on the Sabbath	252
A LLEN's Synopsis	460	Analysis of Bristol K. of Spain's Conduct	52	Lectures	200	Family Expounder	512
Waters	304	Law of Estates	252	Propag. Expounder expounded	564	Flavel's Works	460
Bacon's Works	252	Letter from a Counsellor Gloucester (Bp. of)	ibid.	Gospel	200	Free Grace	ibid.
Becket's Surgery	52	—— Gallipoli	304	Goodwyn in Hare Court	156	Future Rewards	304
—— Tracts	356	—— to a Minister	564	Grosvenor on Dr. Harris	356	Happines of a Holy Life	52
Boerhaave de Calculo	564	Leviathan hook'd	ibid.	Guise on the Fast	104	Heath of Existence	252
Compendious Astron.	356	Library of the Law	408	Harris on the Fast	ibid.	Leland's Div. Author.	304
Cosmotheoria Puellis	252	Liveryman	260	Harte on the Fast	304	Moore of Inf. Baptism	564
Emptiness of Space	200	Managem. of the War	52	Hebden on Orig. Sin	200	New New-year's Gift	616
Experimental Philof.	260	National Debt	616	Hoggart at Birstal	156	Perronet's Inquiry	564
Extemporaneous Dispen-	616	Nature of Government	52	Houlton at Spithead	104	Phelps's reveal'd Relig.	252
tory	616	Notes of Cases	52	Hutchinson at Oxford	356	Pocock's Works	156
Hales on Stephens's Medi-	ibid.	Observations on the War	52	Johnson's Discourses	252	Remarks on Chubb	104
cines	ibid.	Operations of the War	564	—— at Great Tarring-	104	Rule of Life	304
Health restor'd	200	Point of Conduct	304	ton	304	Scougal's Reflections	512
Hilary on the S. Pox	356	Political Writers	512	Lardner on Dr. Harris	356	Simon's publick Worth.	52
Hoadley's Lectures	200	Proceedings at Guild-	ibid.	Machin on present Affairs	304	Social Religion	460
Hospital Dispensatory	52	hall	ibid.	——	304	Three Discourses	156
Index Horti Chelmsfordi	460	Prohibition of Trade	52	Meadowcourt on Nov. 5.	564	Turnbull of Provid.	304
Lobb on the S. Pox	616	Rise of the War	304	Miller at Rochampton	104	Waterland of Sacrifice	ibid.
Martinus de Animalibus	252	Rules of the King's Bench	616	Moore on Miracles	512	Whitefield's Spirit	564
Martin's Essays	408	—— Practice	104	Morrell on the Fast	104	Wilson (Bishop) on	252
—— of Medicines	52	Secret Expeditions	512	Morrice on June 11.	356	——	
Mie's Measuring	564	Septennial Act	460	Serious Remonstrance	408		
Milward's Letter	156	Serious Remonstrance	408				
Nicholl's Oratio	460						
Robins against Jurin	356						
Sharp's Surgery	304						

on the
52
m Af-
564
1. 408
aft 52
n. 304
200
ft 1684
100
Mifery
104
ancafter
512
460
wn 564
104
1. 52
156
ge's 104
ter Af-
460
3. 5. 52
o. 104
19. 304
ar's Day
104
200
AL.
fe. 356
s Exa-
460
52
n ibid.
156
bin 304
of) his
460
Charge
564
th 252
ded 564
512
460
252
ibid.
304
252
y Life 32
e 252
nor. 304
ifm 564
ift 616
564
elig. 252
156
ob 104
304
na 512
orth. 52
460
156
id. 304
fice 104
564
on In-
252